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ABSTRACT

This study documents the evolution and implementation of a program directed by the Council on Comprehensive Education (CCE) toward the purpose of realizing community control of a comprehensive high school in New York City. The program was one of nine at sites selected by the Documentation and Technical Assistance (DTA) Project as representing exemplary strategies for problem solving in urban schools. Chapter I outlines the history and purpose of CCE and the goals of the Westlake High School program. Chapter II of the report deals with the struggle for desegregation, decentralization, and community control in New York City during the 1960s discusses the CCE and the program site (Westlake High School) in this context. Chapter III reviews historical and political factors that influenced the development of an alternative educational concept at Westlake, and analyzes mechanisms used to maintain that concept in personnel and program changes. The fourth chapter describes the state of the collaborative structure as a problem solving strategy as it struggled to function in 1975, citing idealism and inflexibility on the part of the leaders as major barriers to adapting the program to the changing composition of the school and community. Chapter V highlights difficulties of the CCE project in 1975-76 and describes its demise. The report's final chapter analyzes lessons learned from the project . Appended are methodological descriptions and various forms and materials used in the project's implementation. (Author/GC)

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CCE - WESTLAKE HIGH SCHOOL:

A CASE STUDY

Lilliam Paoli

May 1978

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This paper is part of the Documentation and Technical Assistance Project of the Center for New Schools, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois. This Project is funded by the School Capacity for Problem Solving Program of the National Institute of Education, contract #400-75-0018. The views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect views of that agency.

The names of people, projects and places have been pseudonymed to preserve the anonymity of participants.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three interrelated parts:

> DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.
>
> TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based in part upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.
>
> LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

This case study is a product of the documentation effort. The ideas, commitment, hard work, successes and disappointments of the people directly working within urban schools on a day-to-day basis are in a very real sense the base of DTA. This case study captures part of that experience in one of the sites. It is our hope that this description will be useful to researchers, policy planners and particularly to the people who work directly in schools in their efforts to improve the quality and validity of the educational experiences for urban students.

Thomas A. Wilson
Project Director

PREFACE TO A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES

Produced by the

DOCUMENTATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT (DTA)

In 1974 the Local Capacity for Problem Solving Group of the National Institute of Education held a national competition to identify locally initiated projects which showed promise of fundamentally improving urban schools. They were searching for projects which sought to restructure schools in such ways that the schools could successfully work in solving their problems in an ongoing fashion, rather than for the projects which sought to introduce some one shot, particular innovation. They selected nine projects which included a variety of strategies and approaches such as teacher centers, organizational consultation, and community involvement arrangements. This document is a case study of one of these nine projects.

The purpose of this preface is to briefly outline general contextual and methodological issues relating to the production of this case study. We believe that researchers usually shy away from sharing this information and the information is valuable because it answers many of the readers' questions and helps the readers to interpret and use the case study. The readers can find more details on all these issues in the DTA paper "Explorations of the Concept of Local Capacity for Problem Solving" (S. Wilson, 1977). Similarly, the site researchers address many of these issues in the methodological appendices to their case studies.

Focus of the Case Study - Charge Given to Site Researchers

In each of the nine sites there was a particular strategy that was funded by NIE. That is, certain people had written the proposal and were

involved in intervening to help improve the schools in ways that they thought would build a long term capacity for problem solving. The site researchers were primarily responsible for documenting the playing out of that strategy. They were charged with answering these kinds of questions: How did the interveners think schools needed to be restructured? How did these interveners think they could effectively take action to facilitate this restructuring: What did they actually do? What happened as they tried to intervene? Why did it happen? What did the school people with whom they work think about what was happening? What other characteristics of the site influenced the course of events? What was the impact of the intervener's actions? NIE had spent considerable time on selecting these promising strategies, and site researchers were expected to document them thoroughly. There was much to learn from these concrete attempts to improve schools.

We hoped, of course, that in documenting these particular strategies, the site researchers would be able to provide a more general analysis of how and why schools do and don't solve their problems, and even more fundamentally of how urban schools function. To varying degrees this more general analysis is explicitly, or implicitly, present in the case studies. The reader, however, should not expect a study of schools as total settings. Clearly, the prime focus was on documenting the particular NIE funded strategy, and often that task consumed most of the site researcher's energies. In the middle of the documentation, we began to ask questions about the wisdom of this concentration on the funded strategy and we invite readers to share our questioning as they explore the case studies.

Below we present a time line which will help the reader see how the research fit into the history of the sites, and how much time was spent in the field.

September 1974	Nine sites furded activity begins.
January 1975	DTA contractor selected for project.
April 1975	Site researchers begin studying sites and attempt historical reconstruction of events up to their entry in the field.
July 1976	Site researchers begin to write drafts of case studies documenting period of observation. They continue to document sites at reduced level.
November 1976	Site researchers return to field to observe at full effort.
June 1977	Nine site funding ends.
June 1977	Site researchers begin to write final drafts of case studies incorporating critiques of first drafts and new data gathered from second period of observation.

At full effort, site researchers spent about three days a week in the field. The details of dates and amounts of time spent in the field vary from site to site. Readers are urged to consult the methodological appendices of the case studies for details.

DTA Project Context

Site researchers were not scholars pursuing independent research projects. While they were given considerable latitude to shape their own research activities, they were working on a specific government contract. The readers may find it helpful in understanding the research to be aware of this DTA project context.

This context may have influenced the research by the demands it made on site researchers' energies and by the implicit values it fostered. We have already mentioned how the contract shaped the focus. In addition to producing case studies, site researchers were needed to support other project

activities including comparative cross site analysis, testing of an experimental computerized data storage and retrieval system for qualitative data, and ongoing assistance to schools.

This last activity needs elaboration. Based on an analysis that many research findings do not really get used to improve schools, the DTA contract called for the innovative combination of research on efforts to improve schools with the simultaneous attempt within the same project to use that information to help other schools. Thus, site researchers were involved in activities such as responding to assistance staff questions, visiting the schools that were being assisted, and participating in seminars designed to see how their research could be useful.

The readers should realize, then, that site researchers were not able to focus their energies exclusively on the production of the case studies. Their data and analysis had to serve many other purposes. Also, the contract did not only influence time expenditure. Many people within the DTA project -- including some site researchers -- were not convinced that traditional case studies were the most powerful format for sharing research so that it helped in the improvement of schools. The emphasis on <u>using</u> the research thus influenced DTA staff's decisions about what the case studies should look like, and even the value some placed on the case study relative to other activities. We invite the reader to read the other DTA papers, in addition to reading the case studies, and to join us in reflection on what are the most powerful ways to use research.

Research Methodology and Theoretical Orientations

Site researchers were requested to use a grounded research process. That is, they were asked to build their generalizations on analysis that

emerged from ongoing data collection and to test critically the relevance of outside theoretical concepts and frameworks against the day-to-day life of the site they were studying. Grounded research was deemed appropriate for two reasons:

1. The concept, local capacity for problem solving, is relatively new in educational change projects. DTA was exploring the meaning and usefulness of the concept. We felt it would be premature to limit the data collection relevant to this exploration by prespecifying the concepts and research activities.

2. The nine sites project staff, the core staff of the two organizations who received the DTA contract and the site researchers represent a wide diversity of experience, disciplinary backgrounds, and theoretical orientations. A grounded research approach would allow the flexibility necessary for each case study research effort to benefit from the theoretical orientations that would be most appropriate for understanding events at that site.

As a result the case studies vary considerably in the nature of their theoretical emphasis and indeed in the amount of explicit theorizing. Most of the case studies concentrate on description and have first-level interpretations. In this way, they attempt to serve as a resource to readers from various disciplines and theoretical dispositions.

Concretely, site researchers used a variety of techniques to collect data. These techniques included some combination of participant observation, formal interviewing, informal interviewing, document analysis, and quantitative techniques. They observed in a variety of behavior settings. The specific details are described in each case study.

The project described in this case study was undertaken by serious, caring people trying to improve urban schools. We are grateful to the

participants for letting us learn from their experience -- to share vicariously the joy of their accomplishments, and with them to puzzle through their difficulties. We hope the reader finds what s(he) needs in entering these pages.

Stephen Wilson
Head, Documentation Team DTA

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

> The Council on Comprehensive Education (CCE) is a non-profit community corporation organized by parents and community leaders of West Ashburn and Manchester with the purpose of creating a new model of a comprehensive high school and related educational institutions and facilities to serve the needs of inner city students in New York City. This entire educational complex is known as Brooke Educational Center, one part of which is Westlake High School. (CCE Proposal to NIE, 1974.)

This statement was part of a proposal which was submitted by the Council on Comprehensive Education (CCE) to the National Institute of Education (NIE) in response to a request for proposals on strategies for local problem-solving. In this proposal, the CCE made it clear that the NIE grant would be used to strengthen and support strategies and structures which had evolved over the preceding nine years since the project's conception.

The CCE-Westlake High School story dates from 1965 when some mothers, who had been active in a local District F (Manchester) parents' association, became interested in a Board of Education decision to build a new high school on Manhattan's Upper East side.

> We heard that the Board was going to build a new school. Most of us with children in junior high school decided that we should have some say about where the school was located and what kind of facilities it would provide. (Pamphlet distributed by CCE, originally written by the National Jaycee, p.2.)

They were to learn that one of the sites under consideration was the abandoned Brooke Brewery. The Manchester Community Planning Board was already planning for the renewal of this site and had sought a commitment from the Board of Education to construct the new high school in the Manchester area. The parents' association gave support to this idea, and in 1966, the Board of Education formally designated the four-block area at the juncture of Ashburn (a mostly low-income Black and Hispanic community) and

Manchester (a well-to-do, almost all-white neighborhood), as the site for a new high school to serve 4,000 students from both areas. A committee was then established to help design the school.

Responsive to the signs of their time, this "Citizens Education Committee" envisioned the new school as a community center to funnel a variety of social services to Ashburn and Manchester residents. Further, they viewed community control of the school as an essential part of their project.

In 1968, the Board of Education designated this school as the city's pilot "comprehensive" high school and made the "Citizen's Education Committee" a "special project committee" to develop more concrete plans for the school. In 1969, the committee again reorganized, hired a planning staff, and decided upon a name, the Council on Comprehensive Education (CCE).

CCE - The Community Corporation

In a letter written to the Board of Education dated August 15, 1969, Erica Townes, a founding member, explained their reasons for reorganization:

> Following our meeting in your office on June 18, I am writing to report on our further discussions, in the Brooke Education (Special Project) Committee, about the form of the community's involvement in the planning for Westlake High School.
>
> The form of that involvement has in the past been unclear. Although it has participated in various discussions with the Board, the Committee has not been organized to respond as effectively as it might to the "eagerness of the school administration and staff", noted by Dr. Melrose (then Superintendent) in his letter of June 3rd, to work with the community in designing a high school that will meet the needs of the students and the community.

> The Committee therefore considered how it might assist the the Board more effectively. A result is that we have incorporated as the Council on Comprehensive Education. We have done so in order to make visible our machinery for 'community representation', to facilitate acceptance of outside planning funds, and to ensure accountability and business-like procedures.

Thus, on February 17, 1970, the CCE was incorporated under the Membership Corporation Laws of the State of New York. According to the By-Laws adopted on September 22, 1971, their purposes as a Community Corporation were:

a. to participate in development of the Brooke Education Center, planned to serve the Ashburn and Manchester communities;

b. to involve the residents of those communities in the design and governance of the Center and its programs;

c. to promote good working relations, for the project, with the New York City Board of Education;

d. to enlist collaboration of government, business and other institutions in the activities of the Center;

e. to receive and administer funds for planning and for supporting services to the Center.

Membership to CCE was, and is, open to "individuals who are residents of Ashburn or Manchester, work in those communities or have a record of interest and involvement in their affairs." Membership was and is automatic for parents of Westlake students. (By-Laws, CCE, 1971.)

When CCE was founded, it was conceived as a community agency which would channel many kinds of services to the community. The school was to be a key component of the project, but by no means its only component. According to the "Proposal" (September 1, 1970), the following were necessary features of a community school:

- to provide education for the community's young people
- to provide education for the community's adults

- to provide, consistent with its educational program, other social services to the community

- to contribute to the community's recreational and cultural life

- to contribute, by its people, programs and leadership, to the solution of community problems

- to make facilities available for the community's use at all reasonable hours and year-round

- to use the community (people, facilities and programs) to enrich its educational program

- to be governed, first of all, by the community

The Prospectus states:

> The Program of Community Proposals gives major importance to a one-stop neighborhood center, providing coordinated delivery of social services to the community. In providing the most important social service, education, and having in every area a strong community orientation as well as built-in communication with all parts of the community, the Center becomes a natural locus for a multi-service program. We have discussed the following services:
>
> - neighborhood legal service
> - family planning
> - relocation assistance
> - Vista program base
> - child welfare
> - assistance to ex-offenders
> - code enforcement
> - rodent control
> - addiction treatment and referral
> - emergency welfare service
> - credit union
> - small business development
>
> Aside from the multi-service center, the Community Corporation wanted to be involved in these other areas:
>
> - adult education
> - after-school study and tutoring center
> - community school-library
> - community arts program
> - job counseling and employment center
> - community mental health center
> - medical service and public health program
> - child care center
> - services to the elderly

Westlake High School (Brooke Education Center)

In 1970, the CCE, in collaboration with the Board of Education, developed a general educational plan for the Brooke Center. They also set up tentative plans for a pilot high school program to be launched later that year or by 1971. By mid-1970, a joint Planning Committee consisting of members of the Board of Education and of the CCE was established to further plans and oversee the progress of the project. On September 1, 1970, a proposal was submitted to the Board of Education by the Joint Planning Committee asking for "the establishment of a joint secondary school research project involving 150 students during 1970-71 as a part of the joint planning process for Brooke Education Center, also designated as Westlake High School."

This first year program was to be divided into two parts: a planning session, involving staff and 25 students, to begin October 21, 1970, and the full-scale pilot program, with 150 students to begin in February 1971. It was viewed as an experimental research project that would be an integral part of the total research venture that would culminate in the establishment, in 1973, of a full-scale high school housing 4,000 students. It was to be:

> the testing ground for ideas in school organization and administration; in curriculum design; in the use of the community and City as campus and curriculum; in the recruitment and training of staff; in occupational and adult education and in the design and use of facilities.

Collaboration -- the Committee Structure

Westlake High School and CCE "were founded on the belief that education is a collaborative process -- the excellence and relevance of which are

directly related to the degree of participation of all involved -- students, parents, staff, and where appropriate, community and affiliated institutional personnel." (CCE Pamphlet.) They are, further, products of a joint venture between members of the Ashburn-Manchester community and New York City's Board of Education. Collaboration, then, was an integral part of the project from the very beginning. In order to realize this collaboration, a committee structure was established. The first two years of the project were envisioned as an experimental state in which a number of hypotheses would be tested. It was hoped that the end result would be what the writers of the original proposal termed "a sound approach to collaborative policy-making." According to Laura Spivak, in a June 3, 1972 memo to Jack Horowitz:

> Contrary to a highly popular belief/myth, the committee structure was not written into the original proposal of Westlake High School. The committee structure was a mechanism which evolved primarily through the efforts of the first ten staff members who saw the committee structure as a way of tackling the incredible work problems that had evolved betwen February 1971 and August 1971. During the summer of 1971, we formulated task forces composed of teachers, students, and parents and formalized the committee structure as a way of dealing with the internal problems/goals of Westlake. The overall goal of the summer workshops was to insure colalboration amongst all participants at Westlake, and the idea was to provide a process wherein this joint thinking could take place. I would emphasize here that what the original proposal established was the need for collaboration, not necessarily committees. By the end of the summer, the proposal was rewritten chiefly by Cecil Stuart, and in it was the suggestion for the establishment of ongoing committees: Curriculum, Budget and Finance, Pupil Personnel Services, Program and Registration, and Staffing. Also, the Representative Council was established that summer, and it was created to be the internal governing body of the school.

The CCE's own committee structure also developed as a response to the everyday problems they had experienced. The Executive Committee, which holds

"all policy and discretionary powers of the Corporation (CCE)" (By-Laws, CCE), was created in 1970, when the initial group of parents and community leaders from Manchester and Ashburn decided to reorganize and seek the status of a non-profit organization. As the governing body of CCE, whose "special responsibility" was "to develop authentic community participation in all aspects of the project", it was composed of members of all constituencies that took part in the venture. The breakdown was as follows:

-- parents of Westlake students	10
-- at-large members of the community	8
-- Westlake students (including at least one adult student	8
-- Committee for the Early Learning Center	2
-- (ex-officio) The Director of Westlake High School	1
Total:	29

The By-laws of CCE also stated:

> The entire Executive Committee (is to be) elected annually by qualified members (of CCE) by mail ballot during the first week of December. Members shall qualify to vote by attending at least three general meetings during the preceding year.

The election procedures also established that each constituency should nominate and elect their own representatives by a democratic process of their own choosing, but if they failed to do so by a given date, the nominating committee for the community-at-large would be empowered to nominate the candidates for that constituency.

The Joint Planning Committee was also created in 1970. Its function was to "further plan and oversee the progress of the project (Brooke Educational Center)". It consisted of four members: two representatives

from CCE appointed by the Executive Committee.* The Joint Planning Committee answered the need for a small, decision-making group of people both from the community and from the Board which would plan and expedite the approval of the Proposal for a secondary school. It would be considered a joint venture of these two groups. It was this particular committee which submitted the original proposal for the pilot school to the Board of Education, and which created another committee, the Operating Committee, as the governing body for the school. The Operating Committee consisted of nine members: five community representatives appointed annually by CCE's Executive Committee, one representative appointed by the Board of Education, one representative appointed by the National Teachers Union (NTU), one representative appointed by the City Schools Administrators, and one representative appointed by Central University.

The strategy proposed by the CCE in response to NIE's request for proposal on strategies for local problem-solving revolved around the committee structure described above.

> ...the strategy to be carried out and studied as a result of this grant is one of community governance of an urban public high school and the instructional outcomes of that community governance strategy. This strategy is realized in the interrelationship of various policy-making committees representing the Council on Comprehensive Education and the New York City Board of Education and Chancellors office. The major focus of this grant will therefore be upon the structural decision-making process used by the CCE: the Executive Committee of the CCE, the Joint Planning Committee, Operating Committee and the Representative Council, as well as the outcomes of that process in Westlake High School--the school's curriculum, the school's operating procedures, and the school's services...

It is evident that the CCE saw the committee structure as a cornerstone of

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*Brooke Educational Center -- History (an outline), February 1973, p. 2.; Proposal #4-0850 to NIE, pp. 5, 6.

its problem-solving strategy and the instructional outcomes at Westlake as the validating proof of the merits of that strategy. It is this particular definition of both means and ends that lends focus and content to this case study.

Key Findings

As you read, you will see that the dream of community control of a comprehensive high school (Westlake) by a community corporation (CCE) has not been realized. The reasons for this failure are many, but can be traced to two primary factors: (1) the members of the community whose lives would be affected by the school and the corporation, e.g., parents of the students at Westlake, were never effectively involved in their operation and (2) the political situation in New York City in 1969 required that the CCE compromise by collaborating with the Board of Education, a compromise which was to effectively prevent the corporation from establishing a power base from which they could build towards independent status.

As a result, and because of a number of internal difficulties which stemmed from these factors, CCE was not able to cope with changing realities. Westlake High School, on the other hand, took on a life of its own, independent of CCE, and was able to adapt to the various changes which were to affect its growth. Westlake was never to become the community controlled comprehensive high school that had been envisioned, but it did become a viable, interesting, and in many ways, unique, alternative school.

The story of CCE and Westlake High School sketched above will be developed and explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

ABSTRACT

This chapter deals with the struggle for desegregation, decentralization and community control in New York City during the 1960s, and the ways in which the story of CCE and Westlake High School relate to the larger picture. This section will demonstrate that the two primary factors which led to the inability of CCE to establish community control--lack of community involvement and collaboration with the Board of Education--were to define the CCE-Westlake experience from the beginning.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

> Westlake High School is the first community-based high school in New York City, and one of the few such in the entire country. While high schools in New York are under the direct jurisdiction of the Central Board of Education, Westlake was founded by an independent community corporation consisting of parents and community leaders from Ashburn and Manchester. (Westlake)--What it's All About, pamphlet distributed by CCE.)

In order to understand the phenomenon of Westlake High School, it is necessary to place it in its historical context. Westlake and its parent organization, CCE, did not represent a revolutionary or unique concept in education. They were both responses to the signs of their times. Only as such can they be truly understood. The initial group of parents and community leaders were doing basically the same thing being done by parents and community leaders all over New York City--trying to get control over their children's education. Westlake was unique because it was one of the few high schools in which the idea of community control became a serious consideration. It was not an existing school to be changed, but one to be planned from scratch. And it came into being after the struggle for decentralization and community control was over. Yet, even this uniqueness needs to be looked at against the backdrop of the city at large in order to be able to grasp the significance of the victories the CCE-Westlake people managed to obtain, the defeats they had to endure, and the ultimate compromise they had to accept.

In my search for sources for this chapter, it was extremely difficult to find an impartial, detailed, day-to-day account of the problems faced by the New York City School System from 1954 to 1973. In particular, it was

hard to find a dispassionate, unbiased account since the issues of desegregation, decentralization and community control were so politically loaded and emotionally charged. The one I believe came closest to the ideal was Diane Ravitch's The Great School Wars, which I used as my main source. In an effort to double check important issues and happenings, I used David Roger's 110 Livingston Street; Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Havisi's The Politics of Urban Education; Naomi Levine's Ocean Hill-Brownsville: A Case History of Schools in Crisis; and the Bundy Report. I also consulted microfilms of the New York Times, especially the daily editions from 1967 to 1969, and The New York Review of Books. For the most part, I found Ravitch to be accurate and impartial.

The City Struggles - 1954 to 1969

According to Diane Ravitch:

> ...each major reorganization of the school system was the result of intensive political struggle, and each of these battles coincided with a huge wave of new immigration. Though the issues in each instance were different, the public school was the battleground where the aspirations of the newcomers and the fears of the native population met and clashed... (Ravitch, 1974, p. 240.)

After World War II, the number of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in New York City steadily increased, so that by 1950, they numbered about one million. Like their earlier European counterparts, they came in search of a better life; unlike their European counterparts, they encountered an economic system which was unable to absorb them.

> The European immigrants arrived in New York at a time when the economy could absorb unskilled labor, even that of a child. Child labor was abhorrent to the social reformers, but it had been an important source of income to the poor immigrant family. The usual school-leaving age was

> fourteen, when many boys and girls found low paying work in factories and shops. As child laws and compulsory schooling laws were strengthened, industry replaced exploited children with machinery or moved away to find cheap labor elsewhere. By mid-century, society's demand for educational qualifications and credentials kept the unskilled and the unschooled at the bottom of the economic ladder, with little to hope for. The child who left school at age fourteen to go to work was called "industrious" in 1905; fifty years later, the same child would be labeled a social problem and a dropout, because the economy of the city could not legally use him, and in fact, would have difficulty finding a place for him at age seventeen or eighteen, when he was of age to work. (Ibid, p. 242.)

But Blacks, and many Puerto Ricans, had an additional problem, color. In spite of laws prohibiting discrimination, they found it in housing and in employment, which forced them into segregated slums and forced their children into "de facto" segregated public schools. To many who wanted to put an end to this state of affairs, integration seemed to be the logical solution to the problem, and not surprisingly, the public schools became the central target in their struggle. After all, the school had always been considered the key to achieving economic opportunity and incorporation into the maintstream of American society. According to Diane Ravitch:

> The drive for school integration had several sources. Some sought integration on pragmatic grounds, arguing that predominantly black schools did not get a fair share of the best personnel and resources. Others perceived school integration as a fulfillment of the American Dream, a society in which diversity is melded into a new and universal brotherhood. (Ibid, p. 245.)

This drive toward school integration was further supported by the Supreme Court decision banning state-enforced school segregation. Although the decision was mainly directed towards the school systems of seventeen southern and border states, integrationists in the North saw profound implications for their own situations.

From 1954 to 1965 the struggle for the integration of the New York City School System was waged on many different fronts. At the end of 1954, the Board of Education appointed a top-level Commission on Integration and gave them a mandate to develop recommendations to further integration. In 1955, the Public Education Association (PEA) issued a report outlining the main problems facing the school system, and while it absolved the Board of responsibility for intentionally segregating Black and Puerto Rican children, it criticized it for not doing enough to promote integration. It also stated that:

> Compared to schools which were more than 90 percent white, the predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools were older and less adequately maintained, had a higher rate of teacher turnover, and had a smaller proporation of tenured teachers. The teacher-pupil ratios in the two groups of schools were not dissimilar, nor was there a significant difference in the expenditure per pupil. But segregated schools did exist, and these schools had fewer experienced teachers than did other schools. (Ibid, p. 253.)

The core of the problem seemed to be a tension between the idea of neighborhood schools (i.e., by necessity and de facto segregated schools) which had always been a given in New York City, and the desire for integration (which would require intensive re-zoning and maybe even busing.)

Backed by the PEA report, the Commission on Integration held hearings during 1956 and 1957, and eventually produced two reports, one on zoning and another on teacher assignment, which proved to be extremely controversial. When these reports came before the Board of Education, they were unanimously approved, but "a qualifying statement was appended, which made it impossible to know exactly what had been approved or what would be implemented." As

usual, it was easier to issue a policy statement than to find a viable course of action. According to D. Ravitch:

> In the two years following the PEA report on the status of Negro and Puerto Rican children, the number of public schools which were 90 percent or more Negro and Puerto Rican increased from fifty-one to seventy-seven. The Negro and Puerto Rican populations had grown; racial ghettos had become denser and bigger. Ghetto parents felt an increasing sense of desperation about their children's schools, which produced few high school graduates and had inexperienced teachers, decaying facilities and low academic standards. Like other upward-aspiring immigrants, Negro and Puerto Rican parents believed that education was the key to their children's future. Negro leaders, pinning their hopes on integration as the best way to eliminate inferior schools, grew angry and impatient with the Board of Education's combination of high-flown rhetoric and callous inaction. (Ibid, p. 257.)

During 1958 and 1959, due to pressure mainly from ghetto groups, definite steps were taken by the Board of Education. The first trial of permissive zoning was set in motion by the Superintendent of Schools, Jeff Turnbull.

> Almost 400 black elementary pupils in Washington Heights were transferred to underutilized, all-white schools in Oak Lawn and Crestwood sections of Burbank. The move, he insisted, was necessitated by overcrowding and was made solely in the interest of effective school utilization. (Ibid, p. 259)

In spite of vehement protest by the white parents and a boycott, which lasted only one day, the new zoning directives were successful. But the denial by the Board of its true intentions, and its insistence that it was not a move towards integration, but a solution to overcrowding, left both sides involved in the issue dissatisfied.

By 1960, it became obvious that while Blacks and Puerto Ricans made up 40 percent of the city's togal register, they made up 75 percent of the

elementary school enrollment in Manhattan. There had been a massive outflow of whites from the city and they had been replaced almost in equal numbers by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Compensatory education projects which were established, (such as Higher Horizons) and the successful busing of 400 Black children into Burbank, were mere drops in the bucket. Because of mounting discontent, Superintendent Turnbull established an "Open Enrollment" program, whereby Black and Puerto Rican junior high school students could transfer out of their present schools into predominantly white receiving schools. Later, it was extended to sixteen elementary schools, due to pressure from a newly formed "Parents' Workshop for Equality", and its president Myron Jamison. The program was unsuccessful due to lack of proper planning, and because parents were not as eager as their leaders to have children bused to other neighborhoods.

In 1961 the New York City School System went into deep crisis. It began to slip academically, and the biggest scandal in its history was uncovered. Gross irregularities in the city's school-construction funds, involving payoffs, bribes, structural defects in school buildings, safety hazards, as well as administrative chaos, red-tape and interminable buck-passing seemed to be the order of the day. Governor Rockefeller called the legislature into special session, and the Board of Education was dissolved. A new nine-member Board of Education was sworn into office in September 1961. Immediately, two important steps were undertaken by the Board. One was an effort to revive local school boards, which had held no effective power since the beginning of the century, by decreasing their number from 54 to 25, each with nine members appointed by the Board from nominations made by local community screening panels; the other was an

attempt to settle the question of teacher unionism. On December 16, 1961, the National Teachers Union (NTU), by overwhelming approval of the rank and file, became the bargaining agent for the city's 43,500 teachers.

Early in 1963, a new superintendent of schools was chosen for New York City. Melvin Klein, formerly head of the Pittsburgh Public School System, was the first outsider to be appointed superintendent. He came into the system at a time when it was obvious to everyone that the efforts towards integration had failed, and that a new approach had to be taken. It was clear that due to the shifts in population in New York City, integration might not be a feasible goal, but it had been mandated by the State Commissioner of Education. In addition, civil rights groups such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and a new organization, Ashburn Parents Committee (APC) led by Joshua Washington, who later became president of the New York City Board of Education, still considered it a top priority. Tension continued to mount. The problem seemed insoluble, and the inability to reach an acceptable plan for integration led to two boycotts of the school system (February 3, 1964 and March 15, 1964) and finally to a dismal impasse.

In May 1964, a report authored by the State Commissioner of Education's Advisory Commission on Human Relations and Community Tensions was released (known as the Allen report).

> It excoriated the Board of Education for its ineffectual attempts at integrating the schools and held that desegregation could be advanced by reorganizing the school system. (Ibid, p. 281.)

According to Fred Hechinger of the New York Times:

> The Board's integration proposals are made to appear ridiculous; even the policy of permitting Negro pupils to transfer voluntarily out of "ghetto" schools--a policy often hailed in the past as revolutionary--is harshly dismissed in the report. (Ibid, p. 283.)

Hechinger called the report:

> ...a package deal which included everybody's favorite educational experiment, as well as some distant visions, which could be debated for years without any expenditure of dollars.

He saw the Allen report not as a revolutionary step forward, but as a demonstration of passing the buck.

The Allen report served to exacerbate the tensions in an already troubled school system. No agreement seemed possible between the Board and the civil rights groups represented by the City-wide Coordinating Committee for Integrated Schools (with Jamison as its president) and the groups against busing and for the neighborhood-school idea, represented by "Parents and Taxpayers" (PAT). Klein tried to find alternative ways of solving this deadlocked situation by offering several plans for what he called "quality integrated education." His plans were met with boycotts promoted by leaders on both sides of the issue, until in March 1965, the Board of Education asked for Klein's resignation, and appointed Leonard B. Melrose, his deputy, to succeed him. Melrose had been with the system since 1930, and since many felt that the top staff at the Board had resented the importation of an outsider in the person of Klein, it was believed that Melrose could be more effective in handling the crisis. One of his first moves was to release Klein's integration plan for September 1965. This plan endorsed the Allen recommendations of converting into a 4-4-4 system. It supported the four-year comprehensive high school, promised to abolish all 138 junior high schools by 1973, and to begin the changeover to the intermediate schools by September 1966. The plan chose to ignore the words of the Allen report that stated that "total desegregation of the New York City public schools is simply not attainable in the foreseeable future," and instead approached the problem again with yet another administrative strategy.

According to Diane Ravitch:

> 1966 was a pivotal year for the New York City Schools, not in the sense of conscious decisions made, but because of the confluence of events and tides. It was the first year of the mayoralty of John Lindsay. This was significant for the Board of Education because Lindsay had not appointed the Board, and therefore took no responsibility for its actions. This circumstance meant that the Board was adrift politically, and would have no anchor or strength in dealing with controversy. 1966 was also the year in which black-power ideology became a national issue and spurned a growth in black separatism and militancy. It was the year in which the black and Puerto Rican enrollment in the New York public schools at last passed the 50 percent mark, in a trend that was certain to continue in the foreseeable future. And it was the year in which the Board of Education pursuant to the Allen plan, opened its first, intermediate schools; among them was (I.S. A) located at (128th) Street and (Monroe) Avenue in (Ashburn). (Ibid, p. 292.)

I.S. A proved to be a landmark in the ongoing controversy surrounding the New York City school system. It was here that the goal of the civil rights groups shifted from integration to community control, and it was also the scene of the first battle over this fundamental issue.

The leaders of the movement in I.S. A, grouped in an Ad Hoc Parent Council, pressed their demands under the slogan "Integration or Community Control," demanding either one or the other as a precondition to insure quality education. There is little doubt that they saw integration as a real possibility, or even a desirable thing. Among those prominent in this group were Joshua Washington, chairman of the APC and president of the parent association of JHS F, and Shannon Dixon, a staff worker at MEND (Massive Economic Neighborhood Development), Westlake's accredited antipoverty program. In the words of Lawrence Johnson, who played a vital role in the I.S. A controversy:

> If one can believe that a predominantly de facto segregated white school can be a 'good school', then, one must believe that a 'de facto segregated' and predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican school can also be a 'good school.' If one can believe that one's potential has no ethnic dimensions--then one must believe in this manner. (Ibid, p. 293.)

Most saw the idea of community control as the only way of insuring quality education with a system whose record among minority children left much to be desired. They no longer sought involvement and/or participation, but power that would guarantee that they could not be ignored. Ravitch states:

> Thus, with the problem of ghetto education admittedly acute, and with no prospect of a solution from the Board of Education, the idea of community control had undeniable appeal. After all, parents had a right to demand better education for their children and in this instance, parents were asking for a chance to succeed where the educational experts had failed. (Ibid, p. 305.)

But community control also meant a radical departure from traditionally accepted rules at all levels of decision-making. Hiring and firing of staff and principals was at the core of total and effective community control, and this served to deeply antagonize the NTU and the Association of Supervisors (AS), who felt threatened by this new concept that might ultimately lead to a weakening of their power.

By December 1966, the controversy had reached its peak. The proponents on either side of the issue had become polarized, and accusations of "educational genocide" were hurled against the Board of Education by the I.S. A activists, who felt that the Board showed "complete contempt for the Ashburn community." During a public hearing at the Board of Education, a Black parent from the Duncanville section of Oakton demanded to speak out of turn:

> Supporting shouts from the audience disrupted the meeting to the point where the Board members called an early adjournment and walked out. The leather chairs of Board members were promptly filled by several members of the audience who declared themselves the "People's Board of Education" and designated the protestor from Duncanville as the superintendent of schools. The group then continued the hearings, which consisted of attacks on the regular Board of Education. Among the members of the People's Board of Education were several activists from I.S. A. (Ibid, pp. 307f.)

This takeover of the Board of Education lasted only three days, but it served to point out the ineffectual character of this body, while at the same time providing an arena where activists from all over the city met and discussed a synchronized plan of action for what was by now a common goal: community control of schools.

On April 30, 1967, Mayor Lindsay appointed an Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, and named McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, chairman of the panel; Mario Fantini was to be the staff director. At the same time, the Board of Education approved a new decentralization policy which increased the authority of the district superintendents, but required them to consult with the local school boards in making major decisions. The Board also announced "that Superintendent of Schools Melrose had been asked to formulate specific proposals for 'demonstration projects promoting greater community involvement.'" (Ibid, p. 315.)

Fantini was a key actor in formulating a new policy for change in the school system. He was able to bring about an understanding between the NTU and the I.S. A leaders with the support of Superintendent Melrose. The plan that they devised, was worked out with the help of two Israeli University professors, Levi Allen and Harvey Leopold:

> ...aimed to enable parents and teachers to eliminate the distant hierarchical authority of the Board of Education which separated them. Both sides gained, but both sides had to compromise. The (A) group had to modify its demands for total community control and admit the professionals as partners in power, but it gained recognition and legitimacy. Furthermore, by joining forces with the (NTU) the (A) group had a better chance of getting approval of the plan. (Ibid, p. 314.)

In May, the Ford Foundation announced to the Board of Education that it would fund three projects in which the community groups and the Union had agreed to work together. In early July the Board of Education announced that it would create three demonstration projects in order to experiment with the new concepts, one at I.S. A in Ashburn, another at the Sunset-Duncanville district in Oakton, and another at the Three Rivers district on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. From the beginning, it was obvious that the different groups had different expectations of what this new venture was all about. According to Stephen Larsen of I.S. A "the Board of Education will call it decentralization. We like to carry it further. We call it community control." (Ibid, p. 316.)

The understanding between the community groups and the NTU soon ended, and they found themselves at odds over a number of issues. What the community would call accountability was seen as harassment on the part of many teachers, and the Union felt that its duty was to protect its membership. Nowhere was this rift more obvious than at the Sunset-Duncanville project, where tension peaked over the choice of principal and unit administrator for I.S. B, the right to fire and hire teachers, and many other issues.

When on September 1967, the NTU, unable to reach a contract settlement with the Board of Education, announced a city-wide strike, the breakdown between the Union and the demonstration projects was complete. The demonstration projects determined to keep their schools open in defiance of what they envisioned as a racist strike. (The union sought stricter control over disruptive children, and these were usually Black and/or Puerto Rican.)

The NTU sided with the supervisors union (AS) and sued to void the appointments of principals in the demonstration districts who were not on the Board of Examiners' lists--thus trying to void the single most important concession made by the Board of Education to the demonstration projects.

> The districts showed the union during the strike that they were not afraid to stand up to the union; the union showed the districts that they were not afraid to stand up to pressures to get out. It became a matter of time until both sides stood their ground at the same time and same place. (Ibid, p. 320.)

The Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization (the Bundy panel) published the report on its findings by the end of 1967. This report, entitled Reconnections for Learning, A Community School System for New York City, used Marilyn Gittell, an ardent advocate of community control, as its chief consultant. (Ibid, p. 341.) The Bundy report, as it became known, identified decentralization with educational reform, and its recommendations were a radical departure from the mild administrative decentralization which the Board of Education had pursued since the early 1960s. Thus, it touched off heated controversy. On January 1968, Mayor Lindsay submitted the Bundy plan, with some modification (such as withdrawing high schools from under the authority of the local boards, and placing them under the Central Board of Education) to the legislature.

By March, the Central Board, in an effort to counteract the Bundy-Lindsay plan, sent its own plan to the legislature. This was a much more moderate bill, and the mere fact of its existence and the possibility that it offered a compromise, mobilized supporters of the stronger decentralization bill.

> A few days after the Board's plan was presented, a meeting of decentralization advocates was convened in the home of Mrs. Joseph E. (Townes, Jr.). Mrs. (Erica Townes), a member of a socially prominent family, was a member of the Citizen's Committee for Children and other civic

> organizations...At the next meeting of this group, a representative from the Mayor's staff was present. An observer at the meeting noted that, "Mrs. (Townes) has an appointment with the Mayor tomorrow to see if he won't try to influence key people in favor of decentralization." (Ibid, p. 336.)

On March 25, 1968 the group, now under the name of "Citizens Committee for Decentralization of the Public Schools" held its first press conference. It had successfully enlisted many prominent citizens, both in business and politics, in an effort to show that support for the Bundy-Lindsay bill was strong throughout the population. Yet the leaders at I.S. A and Sunset-Duncanville projects were not a part of this effort. They had decided to fight against the Bundy-Lindsay bill because in their eyes it was not strong enough in its stance for community control. They would only support a bill that gave them total power over their schools. On March 29, Stephen Larsen, chairman of I.S. A Governing Board wrote:

> Certain individuals have been actively lobbying on our behalf, presenting themselves as our representatives. We are disturbed by this, since we have authorized no one to speak for us. We are even more disturbed, because some of the views that have been presented appear to support legislation which, in our opinion, would be dangerously ineffective...We are firmly opposed to the "Bundy Report" and to Mayor Lindsay's decentralization legislation...Rather than see such legislation enacted, we would oppose any legislation on Decentralization, for we believe that weak legislation will be worse than none at all. (emphasis in the original) (Ibid, p. 347.)

Before the end of March, a third decentralization bill was introduced to the legislature by the State Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education. This bill, which became the preferred legislation for supporters of decentralization, thus superseding the Bundy-Lindsay bill, was still unacceptable to the demonstration district leaders, who had now locked themselves in an "all or nothing" position. The Regents bill was also opposed by the NTU, the AS and the Board of Education.

The determination on the part of the leaders of the demonstration districts led to a final showdown with the Board of Education and the NTU. The demonstration districts feared the passage of the Regents bill by the legislature, which would not give them total community control, and so, they hastened towards a confrontation by acting as if they had total control. The issue chosen was the dismissal of 19 professionals (13 teachers, one principal and five assistant principals) from the Sunset-Duncanville district on May 7, 1968.

> Why did the (Sunset-Duncanville) Governing Board decide to force a confrontation? The three governing boards had reached an impasse with the Board of Education. The Board of Education refused to retreat from its guidelines, which placed limits on the authority of the projects and rejected community control. The state legislature was moving closer to a vote on a bill that did not provide total community control. Therefore, with the hope of gaining power by the bold act of asserting it, the (Sunset-Duncanville) board decided to remove the nineteen professionals. (Ibid, p. 356.)

The confrontation lasted until June, and it had a definite effect on the state legislature's debate over the Regents bill. A massive lobbying effort by the NTU, and the radical position of the demonstration districts (both opposed for entirely different reasons) led to the collapse of the decentralization effort, and the enactment of the Marchi bill, which in effect postponed decentralization for a year. Yet, the Marchi bill also recognized the three demonstration districts as equivalent to regular local school boards, and enlarged the Board of Education in order to allow the Mayor to name pro-decentralization members to it. This, plus new grants by the Ford Foundation gave the demonstration districts the feeling of victory, although the main issue, that of granting the power to hire and fire staff, had not been decided upon.

The fall of 1968 proved to be decisive in the confrontation between the NTU and the demonstration districts. A month after its expansion, the new Board of Education completed its plan for decentralization, and even though it went further than any others, it fell short of total community control. The demonstration districts were not pleased, nor was the NTU, who felt that this new plan abridged the union contract. They threatened to strike unless the plan was amended to conform with the teachers' contract.

Days before the beginning of the school term, the Sunset-Duncanville district announced that it had hired 350 new teachers to replace those who had struck their schools that spring. This was coupled with the release of the findings of the judge who had served at the trial of the 10 dismissed professionals (the original group of 19 had dwindled), which stated that there was insufficient cause for dismissal. Outraged by both these events, and the demonstration district's refusal to take back the 10 teachers as ordered by Superintendent Melrose, the NTU authorized a city-wide strike. Efforts to avert the strike failed, and it was extremely effective. In just two days, the Board of Education authorized the return of the NTU teachers to the Sunset-Duncanville district.

The leaders of Sunset-Duncanville, totally against the return of these teachers, made sure that they felt unwelcome when they returned. None of these teachers was allowed to resume teaching, so the executive board of the NTU called for a new city-wide strike. This second strike began on September 12, and lasted until September 30. It was a bitter strike.

> The racial and religious antagonisms which had summered in the schools for several years burst to the surface during the second strike. Picketing teachers claimed that they were subjected to antiwhite, anti-Semitic invective. Tension increased each day. Parents were angry because the schools were closed; blacks were angry because a small,

> black school board was being stepped on by a powerful union; union members were angry because it appeared that the major issue was union-busting; Jews were angry because Jewish teachers were pushed out of their jobs without cause while the Board of Education complacently tolerated outbursts of anti-Semitism at its public meetings. (Ibid, p. 369.)

When the strike was finally settled, it was done in terms which embittered the demonstration district's governing board. The NTU teachers would be returned to Sunset-Duncanville, with as much police protection as necessary (more than 1,000 were used around the eight schools in thedistrict on September 30) and teams of observers would be there to oversee their return to normal duties.

Two days later, on October 1, disorder broke out at several schools in the district, and on Octrober 2, Superintendent Melrose closed the schools involved for a "one day cooling off period." From October 3 to October 8, tension mounted, and fresh incidents occurred daily. The Board, in an attempt to curb the defiance of the district leadership, reassigned the unit director and seven principals, since they had refused to assign the NTU teachers. But on October 9, violence recurred, and 200 demonstrators battled the police outside of a Junior High School in Sunset-Duncanville, JHS C. Yet tension was critical not only outside JHS C, but inside, between the NTU teachers and those loyal to the district's governing board. It was so severe that Superintendent Melrose had no recourse but to close down the school.

The school stayed closed for four days, until Superintendent Melrose ordered it opened on October 14, under pressure from a newly formed "Emergency Citizens Committee to Save School Decentralization and Community Control," the Public Education Association, and the Board of Education (who

now, with three new members appointed by Lindsay during the second strike, and under the leadership of James Rice, was a pro-demonstration district board.)

The NTU responded swiftly by closing down almost every other school in the city outside the demonstration districts. This strike lasted five weeks. When settled, on November 17, 1968, it managed to achieve most of the NTU objectives. The governing board of Sunset-Duncanville was suspended as part of the settlement, but it was reinstated on March 7, 1969 on the recommendation of the state trustee that had been governing the district in the interim.

> In the end, the (Sunset-Duncanville) board lost far more than was necessary; at any one of several different points in the struggle, the board had the moral and political power to effect a favorable compromise. By refusing to accept any terms less than total victory, the board was its own worst enemy...The union won the right to return its members to the classrooms of Sunset-Duncanville, as well as strong procedural protection for the future. But its image as an idealistic and socially progressive union was tarnished among the liberal intellegentsia and many black leaders. The union's victory established it as a political power in the city and state, but the price of victory was high. (Ibid, p. 377.)

When the strikes were over, the New York State Legislature, charged with framing a new decentralization bill for the whole school system, became the new arena for the struggle. Proposals for decentralization were submitted by the Board of Education (with two dissents and one minority report filed against it), the NTU and the State Board of Regents. The Board of Education proposal, and that of the State Board of Regents were very similar, except that the Regents proposal legislated the Rice board out of office. The community control forces supported the Regents bill, while those who opposed community control supported the NTU bill.

> The social class make-up of the opposing forces was as different as their views on the issue of community control. The (NTU) position was supported by most of the organized labor movement, who defended the tenets of unionism; by those conservative Jews who saw an impartial merit system as a protection against discrimination; and by other white ethnics who felt that their jobs and neighborhoods were threatened by the growing black population. These groups were broadly middle class and lower-middle class. The community control forces represented a more complex roll of participants: militant spokesmen for lower-class blacks and Puerto Ricans; radical intellectuals in the foundations, universities, and small journals; certain political activists from the West Side of Manhattan; wealthy patricians on the boards of the city's leading social-welfare organizations; and representatives of the city's corporate elite. There is no precedent in New York school history for this particular combination from the upper and lower strata of society... (Ibid, p. 385.)

As expected, the search for a bill that would be acceptable to all sides of the issue was lengthy. Even within the forces for community control, there was no total agreement, since the Board of Education refused to support the Regents bill, which wrote the Rice Board out of existence. When after much debate, a bill was passed, it was not met with much enthusiasm by any group. Among other things, the new bill removed the Rice board and replaced it with a paid five-member interim Board of Education; divided the city into 30 to 33 school districts, and eliminated the three demonstration districts; directed the Board of Education to appoint a chancellor with wide-ranging powers in place of the superintendent of schools; and granted substantial operating powers to community boards over all education in their districts, except high schools, subject to the ultimate authority of the chancellor and city board. (Ibid, p. 386.) It was signed into law on April 30, 1969 by Governor Rockefeller.

A year after the new decentralization law was passed, Martin Noble, who had been commissioner of education in Vermont, and was known as an educational reformer, was named chancellor of the New York City school system.

> (Noble) quickly set himself at odds with the system's professional organizations...he alienated a majority of the Board of Education as well. In early 1973, months before his three-year contract expired, the Board of Education accepted (Noble's) resignation and soon afterwards appointed (Michael Berber), (Noble's) deputy and a member of the system since 1937, as the new chancellor. (Ibid, p. 388).

The Board itself underwent changes. In 1973, after being unable to find the right formula for a permanent elected Board, the legislature made the interim board (consisting of one member appointed by each borough president) a permanent Board, and gave the mayor the power to appoint two additional members, making a total of seven members.

> When decentralization went into effect and locally elected boards took office, the community-control movement dissipated...Now that local boards were accountable to the public at election time, educational policy ceased to be a charged issue; education officials once again had political authority, derived directly from the electorate...the diminution of militancy around the public schools was compatible with a national trend away from strident demonstrations. With the onset of an economic recession, and a general cutback in the funds available for public education, the new local boards found themselves deciding how to cut their budgets rather than how to reach out in new directions...by the second community school board elections in 1973, voter participation declined to less than 11 percent...(by 1976 it was less than 4 percent). The decentralization of the school system proved to be neither the disaster that its enemies feared nor the panacea that its proponents had anticipated... (Ibid, p. 397.)

CCE-Westlake -- Beginnings.

The conceptualization of CCE-Westlake project evolved out of a desire, first voiced in 1965, for community control of a comprehensive high school. According to Westlake's Prospectus:

> All who have worked on that pilot project (Westlake) since 1966, have been committed to a vision of the Center as a "community school". We see community engagement, not a feature to be added on, but as an essential part of the Center's program, attitude and structure.

The CCE, however, did not incorporate itself until after the major battles for decentralization and community control had been waged in the New York City school system. Even though planning for the high school had begun in 1965, the community group was not incorporated until February 1970 and the pilot project did not begin until February 1971.

This time lapse between the initial planning and implementation of the project can be attributed to the city-wide struggles described earlier. For, not only was the entire school system submerged in a draining effort to change the traditional structures, but the battle was being waged on several fronts. Participants were continuously diverted from one front to another. Among those participants were many who had been involved in developing the Westlake project and during the period between 1966 and 1969, their attention was focused around the problems of I.S. A and other pressing issues.

However, after the passage of the 1969 Decentralization Law, things changed. The new law dissipated the community control forces by fulfilling their demand for public participation in school policy. It granted substantial operating powers to community school boards at the elementary and junior high school levels. All high schools, however, remained subject to the ultimate authority of the Central Board. Thus, high schools were the logical target of those who believed in community control of education at all levels. Westlake's time had come.

The timing for the implementation of the pilot project jibed with the mood of the Board of Education in 1969. The interim Board that was appointed soon after the passage of the Decentralization Law was headed by Peter Rousseau, a Puerto Rican, and among its members was Joshua Washington,

one of the leaders working for community control at I.S. A. The new chancellor who had been appointed in place of a superintendent, was considered by many to be "a blunt-spoken educational reformer." (Ravitch, p. 386.) And the city was being governed by John V. Lindsay, who had emerged as an advocate of reform and innovation.

According to Diane Ravitch, the community control forces in the city-at-large were represented by a complex roll of participants:

> militant spokesmen for the lower class blacks and Puerto Ricans, radical intellectuals in the foundations, universities, and small journals; certain political activists from the West Side of Manhattan; wealthy patricians on the boards of the city's leading social welfare organizations; and representatives of the city's corporate elite. (Ibid, p. 388.)

The planners of CCE-Westlake were essentially these kinds of people. Some of them, like Erica Townes, had been involved from the beginning. Others became involved as the project evolved.

When CCE incorporated, three in the latter category were hired, to make up their planning staff. These individuals believed in the community control concept and had a diversity of backgrounds and connections which were decidedly favorable to the attainment of CCE goals. They were to be extremely influential in determining the actual design of the project, for they were the primary authors of both the original proposal written to the Board of Education and Westlake High School's Prospectus. They were: Cecil Stuart, a Harvard graduate who had academic planning experience at the University of California, was a member of a wealthy New York family who had connections with powerful people in the New York area; Harold Dixon, an Irish-Puerto Rican who had lived most of his life in Eash Ashburn, had taught at its schools, and was a highly influential member of the East Ashburn community; and Howard Leibowitz, a self-educated, leftist intellectual who was well known as a writer and influential labor organizer.

In order to understand the establishment of Westlake in light of the activities of the City's edudational community during the 1960s, we must look at the orientation and activities of these and other actors who were involved.

Even before the incorporation of the CCE, the community leaders believed that to succeed they would need to obtain the support of both the Board of Education and the members of the Manchester and East Ashburn communities. "We wanted to work within the system and help devise a new kind of public school...We needed the Board's approval and the community's support." (Pamphlet distributed by CCE, originally written by the National Jaycee, p. 2.)

Once the planning for the pilot project was underway, efforts were made to mobilize community support for the Center. In a Pamphlet distributed by CCE, Cecil Stuart recalled these initial efforts.

> We decided to have a weekend-long workshop. We lined up all sorts of participants--invited everybody. We got people to stand at the subway station handing out flyers, got cooks to cook up things. We were going to spend the day discussing the new high school and then have a big celebration in a local schoolyard. Well, only about nine people showed up. It was a disaster, but it taught us something. We had nothing concrete to offer at the time. Nothing people could relate to. All they saw was another hustle. After that, we decided to just go ahead and open a school--not wait until the board put up the building. Just open a school on our own, and try to demonstrate what we were talking about.

In other words, it was decided that the community, other than those community leaders who had been involved from the beginning, would not be involved in the initial planning for the high school. It should be emphasized here that those community people who had been involved with CCE's conception from the beginning were people who had been active in the community for some time--not "just Folk". The implications of this decision,

although not evident at the time, were to be vast. For, over the next four years CCE was never able to secure the participation of the community, a factor which was to seriously hamper its effectiveness as a community corporation.

Efforts to gain the support of the Board of Education, on the other hand, had been ongoing since before incorporation and were quite successful.

As mentioned in Chapter I, the CCE had collaborated with the Board in developing plans for the project and later with the formation of the Joint Planning Committee (which was made up of two CCE and two Board representatives). Wary of the problems that had contributed to the collapse of the demonstration districts in their efforts to attain community control, the CCE planners provided for the input of representatives of other influential constituencies in the operation of the school. The Operating Committee, which was to be ultimately responsible for selecting both the staff and students of the Center, included a representative from NTU and from the city school administrators.

Having learned the lessons of the past, the CCE planners apparently decided that compromise was the only path open to them. This is not to say that they were willing to give in, but rather that they realized that they would have to lose some things to gain others. Therefore, in the original proposal for the pilot project, the words "community control" were not used; instead, the idea of a "joint venture with the Board of Education" was stressed. The Joint Planning Committee represented an attempt at collaboration between the community and the Board.

The CCE's efforts to gain the support of the Board of Education succeeded. On September 18, 1970, the Board gave its formal approval to the

project and agreed to commit city funds as outlined in the budget submitted with the proposal. The final contract between the CCE and the Board of Education was signed on November 16. This contract was called "the Supporting Services Contract."

It is evident then, that the CCE did not need the community support they had originally sought in order to establish Westlake High School. What they did need was the support of the Board of Education and other city-level institutions that had demonstrated power during the 1960s in New York City. Thus, the leaders of the CCE-Westlake project focused their energies on avoiding the mistakes of the leaders of demonstration districts by compromising with the Board and vesting other constituencies with decision-making power. This was obviously a wise decision given the political realities of the time, but what they did not anticipate was that these two decisions, to compromise with the city's educational establishment and to put off establishing community based support and participation, would begin a process which would lead them away from their original dream of community control. For once the process of sharing power with the different political forces had begun, the community lost any control it might have had over key issues. The result of these decisions, as we will see in subsequent chapters, was that the community would never become effectively involved, and the school would ultimately be taken over by the Board of Education.

CHAPTER III: WESTLAKE HIGH SCHOOL

ABSTRACT

This chapter deals with the history of the school from its inception to the present. After describing the original design of the school as well as the historical and political factors which served to inhibit the realization of that design, I will describe what the school looked like in 1975-1976 when I observed it in action. In that context, I will attempt to describe the alternative to traditional education that had developed at Westlake and the mechanisms its leaders used to maintain the spirit of that alternative in the face of changes in personnel and programs.

WESTLAKE HIGH SCHOOL

Introduction

In early September 1970, the first 25 students and 10 teachers were recruited to begin planning for the new school. By the end of that month, CCE had obtained final assurances from both state and private sources that they would have funds to augment the Board of Education grant. The Ford Foundation had agreed to give them a grant of $108,630 to supplement the budget for the final planning and the first one and one half years of the pilot school's operation. In addition, $70,000 was obtained from a state grant made available under the Vocational Education Act. At the same time, arrangements were made to lease and renovate the basement of Saint Jerome's Church on 121 E. 107th Street, and work began immediately to convert this structure to a suitable place for the new school. According to Harold Dixon in the CCE pamphlet:

> We all worked together in those days. The kids, their parents, the staff--we renovated the place, painted it. We all felt a part of it--that the school really belonged to us.

On February 1, 1971, Brooke Educational Center's high school (Westlake) program opened with ten teachers and one hundred students of both adult and school age. According to Laura Spivak, one of the first teachers hired, the opening was marked by enthusiasm and a spirit of creativity:

> Staff found themselves in a church basement that had no heat, no chairs, no formal classrooms, no supplies (including pencils, paper, blackboards), no privacy, and quite frankly, not much of anything other than a tremendous will and spirit on the part of the parents, teachers, students and community members.

During the next six years, the Westlake High School program would undergo a number of changes brought about by both internal and external factors. In many ways, the school as manifested in 1977 is quite different from the one that was planned in 1971. In this chapter I will attempt to document what was intended, what happened to deter the realization of those intentions and how the Westlake people adapted to the changes in order to maintain their school. In addition, I will try to convey what made Westlake special, through description of the various structural features of the school's operation.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first will focus on the program as it was designed in the early years. It will end with a brief history of the school up through 1975, when I came on the scene. This is intended to provide context for the second section, which is a discussion of what the school was like between 1975-1977. Since I was not there until 1975, the material in the first section is primarily from written sources.

Westlake High School as Designed

In this section, I will discuss the intentions of the designers of Westlake with respect to philosophy and objectives, staff and student make-up, curriculum and schedule, credit and graduation requirements. These were all written up in various documents, the major source for this presentation.

Philosophy and Objectives

According to Westlake's Staff Manual:

> Westlake...endorses a posture of shared responsibility for the design and implementation of the educational process and assumes that involved components (of Westlake) will be receptive and responsible in fulfilling their respective roles at the school.

Westlake believes that education is not a static undertaking--a two way experience locked into programmed schedules--but rather an ever-evolving exposure which affects learner and teacher/doer and observer equally and in an unforeseen, unpredictable manner. Westlake endorses the value and integrity of individual agendas and levels of learning and varying paces of academic and personal development, and it similarly espouses the mutual obligation of individual and group alike in respecting and accepting conflicting needs and aspirations of social needs. Westlake's central principles are:

-that education will occur if students and teachers have--and share--real responsibility for it.

-that different kinds of learning require more varied methods than are usual in school.

-that there are some unglamorous kinds of skills and knowledge which a responsible program must deliver.

-that personal understanding and growth are as important as academic learning (and require a non-rigid educational environment).

-that there are not fundamentally different kinds of learning suited to different young people.

-that the most important prerequisite to learning is the student's sense of self-worth.

-that real questions of interest to a teacher or students may give more valid pattern of a program than the usual pattern of "subjects".

-that in three to five years most students can learn more than is customary in high school.

***

As educators we tend to hope that there will be a perfect way of arranging things. We say that what is needed is more structure--or less. More--or less--attention to "basics". More--or less--self-instruction. Warmer--or tougher--teachers. This project's premise is different. We believe the problems lie not so much in miscalibration of the process as in the illusion that an approach will provide the answer. Accordingly, Westlake's program will not be more or less tough-minded or structured than other high schools. Compared with most New York schools it will be more structured and tough-minded where students' needs require it and our command of the learning process warrants. Less structured where the aims of our teaching are different or our grasp of method is looser.

Objectives of the School Process

According to Westlake High School's Student Handbook, The Brooke Educational Center should:

1. Provide a wide variety of educational experiences for students.
   a. Avoid the separation of students into rigid tracks or cur ricula.
   b. Offer a wide variety of courses.
   c. Provide learning experience in other institutions, including other schools.
   d. Provide direct interaction with the world of work.
   e. Provide individualized instruction.
2. Organize educational activities so that every student finds relevance in them to his own concerns and curiosities.
3. Provide students with enough free time to give them a sense of autonomy in their educational growth, but not with so much so that they feel bored.
4. Make every course interesting to the student taking it.
5. Provide quiet places for study.
6. Provide both personal and occupations counseling for students.
7. Encourage friendly relations between teachers and students.
8. Recruit staff members who:
   a. feel that their direct responsibilities to students have priority over all other professional responsibilities;
   b. are willing to experiment;
   c. are willing to take initiative;
   d. can develop order without coercion;
   e. have high reasonable expectations of students;
   f. take an interest in the home and community of their students;
   g. are competent in their fields of instruction.

9. Provide additional training for staff members.

10. Involve parents, teachers, and students, as well as administrators, in decisions about educational policies and practices.

11. Involve parents, teachers, and students, as well as administrators, in decisions about how school is to be managed.

12. Be a center for community activity, including the education of adults in the community.

13. Serve as a model for other comprehensive high schools in teaching methods, educational materials, and other innovations.

14. Work with other agencies to revise requirements for graduation, college entry, and employment.

15. Be efficient in the use of people, money, time and space.

16. Develop an organization that fosters initiatives, variety and change.

17. Make racial and ethnic integration an educational asset.

18. Be a place where students and staff enjoy being.

19. Develop an organization that is of human scale.

***

Every Westlake Student Should:

1. Know himself, what he can be and do and what his limitations are.

2. Be mature, able to handle freedom and responsibilities.

3. Have a set of ethical principles and know they apply to his own life.

4. Be conscious of his responsibilities to society.

5. Be able to take initiative and exercise leadership.

6. Be adaptive to change, and prefer change to stability.

7. Enjoy variety and take advantage of it.

8. Relate to others (adults and peers) openly, easily and honestly.

9. Know how to go about solving personal problems.

10. Develop his talents to the fullest possible extent.

11. Have a sense of strength, of control over his own life.

12. Be able to make careful observations.

13. Be able to think clearly and critically.

14. Know his own culture and heritage.

15. Understand and respect other people, cultures, and societies.

16. Have respect for individual rights.

17. Know how individuals, organizations and societies change.

18. Be aware of current social, economic and political issues.

19. Be committed to some form of community service.

20. Be acquainted with various careers he might follow.

21. Know how to apply for, get and hold a job.

22. Know how to be a wise consumer.

23. Be healthy and know how to stay healthy.

24. Engage regularly in some form of art, craft or sport.

25. Know about science.

26. Know about mathematics.

27. Be able to write well, speak well, and read well in at least one language.

28. Know how to design and conduct his own education in the future.

29. Want to continue his education throughout life.

30. Students and staff should work together.

Staff and Student Make-Up

Criteria for the selection of staff and students were included in the original proposal. In both cases stress was placed on the individuals being volunteers. An additional requirement for students was that they and their

parents understand the experimental nature of the program.

In addition to volunteer status, staff selection was based on the following:

> All will be licensed in New York City. Any who volunteer but are not fully licensed must agree to obtain a license if selected. Selection will be done initially by the Operating Comittee, within the general framework approved by the Joint Planning Committee. (The NTU, having endorsed the project, has agreed to assist in the recruitment and assignment of teachers.)

Individual selection would be based on the following criteria:

> -competence in a particular broad area of the program (and an imaginative interest in others).
>
> -ability to relate openly and supportively to this project's students as people.
>
> -commitment to the aims and principles of the project (though not necessarily agreement in detail).
>
> -a tendency to enjoy life. (CCE proposal to NIE, 1974.)

And finally, the original proposal stated that a primary objective would be to make racial and ethnic integration an educational asset. To this end, they hoped to recruit a student body which would be essentially one-third Black, one-third Hispanic and one-third white. In addition, they aimed at recruiting equal numbers of male and female students. The faculty was also to reflect this objective. At least half were to be Black or Puerto Rican (or at least bilingual)--not because this was seen as a prerequisite to good teaching, but because it was felt that aspirations and communication are affected by ethnic factors.

Curriculum

> One of our commitments to the experiment of the project is to develop a curriculum that reflects the collaboration of students, teachers and parents. Experience has shown that since most teachers have curriculum handed to them, there is

little experience in developing curriculum. Teachers have the option to decide what courses they would like to teach. So the curriculum development is an ongoing process rather than after the fact.

***

The common four-grade-level organization of high schools will be replaced at Westlake by a three-phase program in which progress is defined in educational terms and the rate and duration of the student's work are left open. The program is designed to occupy four years, as an average. But some students may complete it in three years; others may take five (or more). In basic outline, the program will be the same for all students. The specific substance and arrangement of a student's program may be unique. But there will be no segregated "tracks": the basic kinds of experience offered will be shared by all.

The program is designed around the development of three kinds of skills: academic, occupational, and cognitive/personal. The general design is given in Figure I (see page 48).

Academic Skills

Speaking, reading, writing, and mathematics: these are often called "basic skills". They are more likely derivative--from the manipulative skills we have called "cognitive". Basic or not, however, they are essential, and will have high priority in (Westlake's) program. All students will be expected to achieve these skills, and the school as a whole will take responsibility for developing effective methods.

The program will respect state requirements, ensuring that candidates for the diploma are appropriately grounded in each area. But the basic state-required subjects allow for diverse kinds of treatment. All students will study in those areas and develop a command of them. Yet with different interests or teachers they may come at them in very different ways. American government, for example, may be understood by starting with the Founding Fathers--or by starting with why there is garbage on 107th Street.

Occupational Skills

A special feature of (Westlake's) curriculum is a serious and broad effort to carry out the concepts of career education recently developed. This enables all students to be exposed

FIGURE I: SKILL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

	Phase I	Phase II	Phase III
ACADEMIC SKILLS	continuation of fundamental education in social studies, arts, humanities and natural sciences remedial education in basic academic skills: language, math, reading, writing	interdisciplinary academic studies in selected problem areas	advanced academic studies (including) introduction to areas of study sometimes reserved for college)
OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS	preliminary exploration of occupational areas and of means of preparing for them	basic skill training	a sustained period of work experience continuation of occupational skill training
COGNITIVE PERSONAL SKILLS	general skill training: concept handling, problem-solving, communication, leadership, physical development, 'survival'	preliminary work experience	advance general skill training

> to the maximum possible variety of options for their future, to avoid the stereotyping that is inflicted on inner-city youth--whether by ethnic group or sex. All students are exposed to academic and career educational courses. And, within the career education clusters, students get to see the full range of job opportunities in a given field--such as health services--so that they do not limit their horizons or develop unrealistic expectations about what they can or cannot do in a given field. Other programs exist or are developing in business careers, data processing, supermarket retailing, electronics and electrical repair. After preliminary in-house orientation and courses that are background to the field, students in all career clusters get outside unpaid field internships for on-hand real-life experience in over 25 institutions, businesses and agencies. These are carefully supervised by school and institutional staffs, jointly planned and implemented.

Cognitive and Personal Skills

> In the past we have said, in schools, that in the course of our work with literature or other things we were teaching students to think logically, handle abstract concepts, and solve problems. Good teaching in any area must address those needs and can have those results. But we have recently begun to learn to do some of that teaching more efficiently by addressing such needs explicitly rather than as a hoped-for feature of English II or physics...We believe it is the business of the school to help people realize their best nature. Accordingly, we will try to teach students to be open to real communication with themselves and other people.

Courses such as "Communications Theories", "Manipulation", "Man and Woman in Society", are designed to accomplish the above. Finally, Westlake was to offer special programs including a number of cultural programs and an outdoor educational program.

Cultural Programs

> Working through Museums Collaborative, Lincoln Center Workshops and other institutions, a wide array of cultural programs are offered as part of a philosophy that sees arts and culture not as side issues or minor subjects, but as a vital part of every student's growth. Through collaborative efforts, we run photography and silk screen workshops and live performances by the Julliard Workshop. We have also run programs on exhibition planning, visual thinking (for math and geometry) and community theatre.

Outdoor Education Program

Westlake is a pioneer in the creation of an urban program of outdoor education. As a fresh adaptation of the Outward Bound concepts, our special program deals with survival concepts in both urban and wilderness living, offering controlled challenges to students that foster growth through meeting new challenges in new environments. Character development, group understanding and physical growth are all parts of this program. In addition, it is welded to our program of environmental education, so that study of survival in nature complements our understanding of survival of man.

Schedule, Credits and Graduation Requirements

The school year at Westlake High School consists of four eight-week cycles. At the end of each cycle there are evaluations of the students and courses, and a registration period for the next cycle.

The school day starts at eight-thirty in the morning and ends at ten o'clock at night. Staff at Westlake is expected to be committed to the extended day. At the present time, the day is divided into 45 minute modules which allow for 40 minutes of instruction per period 1-13. Periods 14-17 are 55 minutes in length. There are no signals for the end of the period. Built into the schedule is a daily advisor period--the 4th period, lasting for 25 minutes. Every week there is a staff training/meeting session from 1:30-3:00; attendance is obligatory.

Westlake does not use a report card with numbers or letters to indicate failure or success. Instead, each student receives a written evaluation by each subject teacher. After the successful completion of a course, the student will receive credit. To successfully complete a course, the student must fulfill the commitment agreed upon by him/her and the teacher at the beginning of the cycle. If he/she does not fulfill course requirements, he/she will not "fail" the course. He/she will simply <u>not</u> receive credit. 80 credits are needed to graduate from Westlake High School.

Westlake is not like most high schools in New York City. In most high schools, students take 5 subjects a semester--10 per year for 3 or 4 years. Often, students have little choice in what they take. And more often, many students reach senior year and graduate even though they cannot read or write or do math well. At Westlake,

> we guarantee that our graduates will be able to read on the 8.0 level, do math on the 9.5 level and demonstrate skills (competencies) in science, writing, physical education, social studies and in occupational education. If students do not develop these competencies (skills), they will not graduate. In most areas students will not be permitted to take courses unless they have developed such basic skills in those subjects.

Growth and Evolution of the New School

As stated in the Proposal, and confirmed through interviews with several of the founding members of the project, the school was viewed as an experiment, and their task was to explore and develop new approaches to old problems and to do so as a team, without the usual distinction of roles that are common to most educational facilities. In order to accomplish this, they held several workshops in order to plan the different aspects of the project. The Proposal stated that: "Many questions we have not foreseen will need to be discussed this fall by the people who must ultimately deal with them." These workshops were designed to help the participants deal with one another at the interpersonal level.

During one of the planning workshops held in July and August 1971, the students, teachers, parents and community members formulated the educational requirements for the high school, and in order to insure collaboration amongst all participants at Westlake and facilitate a process of group problem-solving, the committee structure was proposed. Later that summer, this proposal was rewritten and formalized by Cecil Stuart, and became the collaborative decision-making structure of the project.

In the Proposal, provisions had been made to hire a Director for the school, who would have "full responsibility for operation of the project, under the supervision of the Operating ()" .°int Planning Committees." (CCE Proposal to NIE, p. 2.)

After extensive interviewing by the Operating Committee, CCE decided to support the nomination of Irene Lord, a Black woman. She was appointed that summer by Chancellor Noble and began to discharge her responsibilities the following September when the school reopened with 250 students at both St. Jerome's basement and some space at I.S. D, loaned to the project by the Community School Board.

By this time, they had also decided

> against a separate adult education program at night. Instead, any adult in the community could enroll for any class offered at the school. Since the school is open from 8:30 a.m. until 10:00 p.m.--with classes scheduled straight through--adults can attend at their own convenience.

During the 1971-1972 school year, the Administration was expanded, and a triumvirate was formed. Harold Dixon left CCE to become Westlake's Deputy Director for Community Affairs. Jack Horowitz, a newcomer to the project at this point, was named Executive Director of Finance, and Irene Lord remained as Director of Educational Affairs. Both Dixon and Horowitz, like Mrs. Lord, were appointed by Chancellor Noble on recommendation of CCE and the Operating Committee.

This same period saw the establishment of collaborative education programs with Metropolitan Hospital, Mutual Insurance of New York, IBM, Newsweek, Mt. Sinai, and other institutions as part of what the Proposal termed "enlisting resources in New York City, not contained in schools, which ought to be utilized in the educational process." (Proposal to NIE, p. 3.) Howard Leibowitz was instrumental in setting up these programs, as well as in the planning and implementation of the Occupational Education and Internship Programs at Westlake. His vision and connections proved to be invaluable in carrying out the guidelines of the Proposal and in adapting them to the needs of the new school.

As part of their commitment to be "a community school that contributes, by its people, programs and leadership, to the solution of community problems...and to provide, consistent with its educational program, other social services to the community," CCE started an interim day-care program at I.S. D directed by the Center's Early Learning Committee. The students and staff also proposed the establishment of "group homes" for high school students who needed that help to remain in school.

It was by then also, that the Board of Education realized the impracticality of building a single building for 4,000 students. They decided to discontinue the earlier plans and architect, and instead proposed a new plan for long-term facilities for the Center. This new plan was based on a program for 2,000 students using several sites in Ashburn and Manchester, and it was called a "dispersed facility" proposal. It was approved by Chancellor Noble and the Office of School Planning, and preliminary studies were undertaken with funds from a grant provided by the Educational Facilities Laboratories. The Board also arranged for the purchase of the former Uptown School of Music and this became the first permanent facility for Westlake High School.

Inner Turmoil

The CCE-Westlake project was designed and implemented by a group of individuals characterized by a variety of backgrounds and orientations. This factor of diversity had been a positive force influencing their ability to get the project off the ground, as the leaders were able to use their influence among a variety of different political forces in the different branches of the City's educational establishment. By 1972, however, that

diversity was proving to be a divisive force in the ongoing activities of both the corporation and the school. In particular, it was evident by that time that there were at least two factions in conflict over educational philosophy. These were represented by Howard Leibowitz and his followers who saw the school as a vehicle for radical educational change, and Harold Dixon and his followers who were relatively more conservative in their expectations. Both of these groups were in conflict with the educational director, Irene Lord, who, because of a dogmatic leadership style and an inability to establish rapport with many of the leaders and teachers at Westlake, was the source of a great deal of disaffection.

In a letter addressed to CCE's Executive Committee dated April 25, 1972, Howard Leibowitz summarized some of these conflicts.

> The political reality of the school is that there is substantial disagreement between the administration of the school and a large number of teachers and students. This disagreement concerns all aspects of school life, including its governance, educational process and philosophy. Since September, some teachers have found difficulty working with the two administrators (Irene Lord and Harold Dixon). One of them (a teacher) felt compelled to resign rather than submit to harassment. Several others have contemplated leaving the school at the end of June...I have had my own troubles with the administration. Some of these problems stem from basic issues of educational methods, others from personal conflicts.

Harold Leibowitz left CCE and Westlake that June, and so did several of the teachers. Cecil Stuart left the project some months later after apparently being unable to resolve some conflicts that had emerged between himself and Mrs. Lord.

In addition to all of this, some of the implications of the compromise with the Board had become evident by this time. In particular, the Board

had demonstrated its power over the corporation and the school when it decided against developing the Brooke Educational Center as it had originally been planned. This and a number of subsequent Board actions were to demonstrate exactly where the power to enact change in the educational system really lay, and each time such a decision was made it served to narrow the possibility of the community corporation ever really attaining "control". Meanwhile...life at the school went on.

In June 1972, the first eleven students, a group of both adult and school aged, graduated from Westlake. In September 1972, the school reopened both at 106th Street (Uptown) and St. Jerome's basement, with 300 school-age students and 40 adults. With the number of students doubled, the administrators saw the need for developing a "transition program", known as Transition Orientation Workshop (TOW), in order to orient the new students to the values and philosophy of the school. They also developed, in collaboration with Howell School, an outdoor education program that included survival training in Vermont.

In 1973, when its original three-year contract with the Board of Education expired, Westlake's contract was only renewed for one year.

According to Sean Donegal, project director:

> CCE is under pressure to prove that its innovative school is accomplishing what it set out to do. They (the Board) could decide that they've had enough of this experiment. They could just cut us off and take over the operation of the high school themselves.

And according to Paolo Luchesi, one of the original founders of CCE:

> We only got the Board's approval in the first place because we made a nuisance of ourselves, refused to take 'no' for an answer, and refused to be discouraged by the bureaucracy and all the red tape. But we did have some sympathizers on the Board in those early days. Most of those people are no longer there, and their replacements don't really understand what we are all about.

The most important change was the departure of Chancellor Noble and the appointment of Chancellor Berber, who represented a drastic change in the Board's attitude toward certain kinds of projects and philosophies.

In 1974, Westlake was joined by Project Avanzar, a college-bound, university-search program funded by Central University. Avanzar, consisting of more than 50 Hispanic students, most of them Spanish dominant and recent arrivals from Puerto Rico and Central and South America, brought a whole new dimension to the school, whose Hispanic population up to this point (55%-60%) was mostly bilingual, English dominant.* Project Avanzar was housed in St. Jerome's basement, and its students commuted back and forth taking courses at Westlake and courses given in Spanish by Avanzar's bilingual staff. Although Westlake students were welcome to take courses at Avanzar, few did so. Avanzar developed an identity separate from Westlake, viewing itself as "different" and "other" and many times as "better".

Statements such as these, heard during a community conference in 1975**, point to that separateness:

> Avanzar teachers are very involved in the community; Westlake teachers are not! (a Hispanic mother)

> There is no discipline at Westlake, compared to the Avanzar project. Westlake students are rude and answer back to the teacher and are disrespectful. We at Avanzar don't do that. (a student)

The above statements may or may not be "true", but the fact that they were uttered underlines some of the tensions that the new project brought into the school. (In September 1976, due to the crisis at Central University, the Avanzar project was denied funding and had to disband. Most of its students were absorbed by Westlake.)

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*Statistical sheet put forth by Westlake High School for the Conference held at Polk House (November 1975).

**Pocahontas Conference (May 1975).

The school year that began in September 1975 was to be another difficult year. According to Laura Spivak, "the events of the 1975-76 school year have been catastrophic."

During the previous year, tensions between the staff and the administration reached a climax, and at the end of it, Irene Lord decided to take a year off on sabbatical leave, leaving the administration of the school in the hands of Jack Horowitz and Harold Dixon.

The City of New York was undergoing a severe financial crisis, and the Educational Budget had been severely cut, forcing the Board of Education to lay off thousands of teachers. The academic year opened with a teachers' strike that lasted one week, gained little, left the staff exhausted, demoralized and insecure in their jobs. That September, through the processes of "lay-offs", "excessing" and "bumping", Westlake witnessed a 50% turnover of teachers, a process that continued into February, bringing an additional 25% turnover at that time. It is not too difficult to imagine the impact of this unstable state of affairs on the program, the students, the administration and the school staff.

Funds for the project were also in jeopardy. The Board felt that they could save money if they funded Westlake under the funding formula that is used for most city schools instead of the Supporting Services Contract which involved "loose-funds" managed by the community corporation (CCE). Negotiations around this issue lasted over three months, and ended with a renewal of the Contract, but with a cut of more than half in real funds. (For a detailed description of these events, see Chapter IV, Political Networks.) The tensions generated by this very delicate state of affairs vis-a-vis the Board were acutely felt by all in the school.

Westlake also lost a number of funding sources from government and private institutions, and this further complicated the situation. The causes for these losses were manifold, but an economic recession, coupled with a tightening of resources allocated for "social programs" had much to do with it. Yet, internal problems within the school and CCE were partly responsible, too. Proposals for grants were frequently written in a hurry and submitted late (an example was the $108,000 ESAA Grant during the summer of 1975, which was handed in an hour after the deadline and was lost), and other times, proposal objectives were not met because of lack of careful planning and follow-up.

These funding cuts had a severe impact on the program and curriculum at Westlake. They particularly affected special programs such as the cultural and outdoor education projects. In addition, the constant staff turnover influenced the continuity and content of academic courses, and understaffing severely reduced the number of advanced, college preparatory courses offered.

Given the situation described above, one would expect that by 1975, Westlake High School would be in a rather disoriented state, and this was to some extent true. Yet, there remained something special, a spirit, if you will, that kept the classroom separate and immune from the external difficulties. What went on in the classroom was the product of a number of teachers and administrators at Westlake who were committed to a particular "alternative" to traditional education. These teachers and administrators were at the core of a concerted effort to maintain a high quality alternative within the school in spite of the external changes they had to deal with. Because they believed in what they had created, these individuals

focused a great deal of energy on acquainting both staff and students with the culture of the school. In the following section of this chapter I will attempt to describe that alternative and the mechanisms that were developed to maintain it in spite of the changes.

Westlake High School: May 1975 - The Present

It is not uncommon to find a gap between the ideals that are stated in proposals, documents, and even in people's conversations, and the real world. When I arrived at Westlake in May 1975 I found that, while the educational program in the school was indeed interesting and unique in many ways, there were a number of such gaps between goals and their implementation. In the following pages I will try to explain this discrepancy in some detail, as well as point out some of the very positive features of the program. After a brief description of the physical setting of the school, I will discuss curriculum and student-teacher relationships, including a description of three classes I observed. I will then represent material relating to the roles of the staff, students, parents and administrators respectively. I will end this part of the chapter with a brief historical update on Westlake up to January 1978 and conclude the chapter as a whole with a brief wrap-up comparing Westlake as it was intended to be, with what it actually turned out to be.

The Physical Setting

The Uptown School of Music, the building that houses Westlake High School, is located on 106th Street in Ashburn. It is an old building with many small classrooms, winding staircases that lead to its five floors, and only two bathrooms to serve over 400 students and 30 staff members. There is no graffiti on the walls, but there is also no heat in the building most

of the time. There is a small library, a student lounge (also used as a classroom now), a gym-auditorium and a cafeteria, meant for both staff and students, although very few staff members go there. It takes a while to get used to the building, and it is easy to get lost in its many different levels, wings, floors, nooks and crannies. It is a dark building with very few large or open spaces, so that one gets the feeling, whenever there are more than three people, of being somewhat crowded. It is definitely not the ideal setting for a high school; there are no places for the staff to have lunch or gather informally, very few places for the students to get together, no classrooms to hold over 20 students, and very little space for anything else.

Yet, the atmosphere is friendly and pleasant. Both the staff and the students have a positive attitude towards each other. And, as a stranger, it is rather easy to feel accepted in a short period of time. There are problems at Westlake, but violence is still a rare occurrence, and drugs are not too common in the school. I asked one of the teachers what she thought made Westlake different from other city high schools. She answered that it was the atmosphere. When I asked her to explain further, she replied:

> We all go on a first name basis here. Maybe that's the key to it all. We don't build artificial barriers between ourselves and the kids. Besides, I feel that most of us truly care about these kids, and they know it.

When I asked a student the same question, he said:

> (Westlake) is different from other schools I've been in. The teachers are friendlier and they really care. They help you with your problems and listen to you. It's a good school.

Curriculum and Student-Teacher Relationships

> (Westlake) has made a definite commitment and priority of developing and improving basic skills levels in reading, writing, and mathematics. It is also preparing a significant number of students for entry into college and post-high school learning institutions.*

Yet, the number of basic skills courses offered, far outweighs the number of advanced work courses, i.e., there were (in 1975-76) 15 basic skills reading and writing courses, and only four Advanced Literature and English electives. Out of a total student body of 449 in the 1975-1976 school year:

183 or 40.8% were in Basic Skills Reading

151 or 33.6% were in Basic Skills Writing

137 or 33.5% were in Bsaic Skills Math

113 or 25.2% were in Science Fundamentals (Basic Skills Science)

102 or 22.7% were in East Side/West Side (Basic Skills Social Studies)

66 or 15.0% were in need of bilingual educational services

According to a Westlake student:

> (Westlake) has good Basic Skills courses, but not enough advanced courses. That's why we lose many good students.

And another:

> (Westlake) students feel a need not only for Basic Skills courses, but also for more advanced college prep. courses. Take me for example, I've been out of Basic Skills for quite a while, and there is very little I can take that's being offered. Most teachers spend all their time teaching Basic Skills and can only give one advanced course. (Polk House Conference, October 1975.)

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*Curriculum Focus and School Model, Background Information. Leaflet distributed during the (Polk) House Conference, October 25, 1975.

Considering that almost 90% of all Westlake students go to college or another institution of post-high school learning after graduation, one can't help but wonder whether the lack of advanced courses in the school's curriculum is a disadvantage for them and affects their performance at the college level in a negative way. Since no follow-up study has been conducted to ascertain how many students remain in college and go on to finish the four years, it is hard to evaluate the impact of the above. I have spoken to several Westlake graduates about this, and although some of them felt that they would have a liked a richer curriculum, only one of them felt that she had been hampered by the lack of advanced courses.

During the year that I spent at Westlake, I found that there was an extremely high interest in the visual, performing, and fine arts, including media. The students made a movie ("Family Roots"), had a play ("Ashburn Sonata"), held a talent show, and did extensive work in silk-screening, papier-mache, collages, etc. All of these things, I must add, were, in my opinion, of extremely high quality. I also found that the students were exposed to a wide range of comprehensive occupational and career options. Internships in hospitals, television studios, dental offices, different kinds of businesses and day-care centers, and other educational institutions gave them the needed exposure in order to insure a more informed choice of a career.

Between the months of December 1975 and February 1976, I made some detailed observations of classses at Westlake. The classes observed were many and varied. I chose the teachers who seemed to be most representative of the various educational trends at Westlake. This notion of "various educational trends" was obtained from comments made by students, teachers

and administrators. Some of the teachers I observed were considered very good, others not so good, some too authoritarian, others too permissive, some too boring, others interesting, etc. A note of caution has to be added here: Westlake has been undergoing some extremely rapid changes as far as staffing patterns are concerned. This has been due mainly to the financial crisis that the City of New York is undergoing, but there have also been a number of voluntary transfers, for which personal reasons were cited. Due to this, the opinions and conclusions that are to follow apply mainly to the period of time in which the teachers who were observed have been (or will be) at Westlake, even though I feel that they do represent tendencies that go beyond a single individual.

I tried to include most areas of academic instruction in my observation. I therefore observed two English teachers, one Science teacher, one Social Studies teacher and two Mathematics teachers. Each one was observed a minimum of three times, and a maximum of six times.

Of all the teachers that I observed at Westlake, all except one seemed to have respect for the students. I found that in most classes emphasis was put on being oneself, not on pe-forming, and the youngster was treated as a whole person whose opinions, feelings and philosophy of life were worthy of being listened to, accepted and dealt with. The one teacher who I felt did not exhibit this kind of respect for students engaged time and time again in derogating a student for class performance or for his/her personality.

Most of the classes that I attended were conducted in the midst of a friendly, almost informal atmosphere. Class participation was high, and discipline problems were at a minimum except for one particular class in which students who had been previously labeled "discipline problems"

and/or "truants" were grouped together as a way of dealing with the problem that they posed to the school.

The emphasis seemed to be on what some of the teachers called "affective learning", that is, teaching the students not only how to develop specific academic skills, but also to explore relationships between human beings and to explore self-knowledge. The curricula appeared to be aimed at answering the needs of the students at various levels; learning was linked to experience from everyday life, while at the same time fulfilling the academic requirements. Students were very often asked to give their own explanations and opinions about things, and they were encouraged to share their learning problems with the teacher and each other. Trust building, understanding and relevance to life seemed to be of paramount importance. Independence was constantly encouraged, and individuals were treated with respect. Since Westlake did not give grades, but rather evaluations on each subject, students, I felt, tended to feel freer to accept and act upon all the above. Most of the teachers whom I observed at Westlake seemed to believe two basic things: a) that personal understanding and growth are as important as academic learning and require a nonrigid educational environment; and b) that the most important prerequisite to learning is the student's sense of self worth.

All except one of the teachers seemed to encourage personal relationships with the students, and tried to create the feeling that learning is a two-way experience and a joint venture. The one teacher who seemed to create or encourage a hierarchical distinction between herself and the students also conducted her class along authoritarian lines. There was almost no freedom to create, since everything that she dealt with had

predetermined correct solutions that she expected to get from the students.

All teachers observed were well prepared for their classes, knew their subject matter well, and were able to convey this knowledge adequately. The level at which subjects were taught and the kind of vocabulary used, etc. were appropriate for each classroom (whether basic skills or beyond). Students who were beyond basic skills seemed to understand and use the technical words of the different academic areas with ease, while most of this more complicated terminology was absent from Basic Skills courses, specifically the lower levels of Basic Skills (perhaps so as not to hamper adequate understanding of what was being taught).

Most classes that I attended were interesting, although a couple were not--but then, it had more to do with the personality of the teacher than with anything else. Reinforcement was adequate most of the time, although in several instances, I found it to be lacking or insufficient. I did not find any instances of teachers straying from the subject matter and turning the class into a "bull-session."

Three Classes

In order to give the reader a feeling for what the educational experience at Westlake was like in 1975-1976, I will describe three of the classes I observed. The teachers of these classes had all been at Westlake since the early days of the project. (The teacher in Example B was among the first group to be hired and the other two were hired the following year.) I chose these three in particular for the following reasons: Teacher A's style was very atypical for Westlake and consequently represents an extreme contrast for comparison. Teacher B was a sort of "master teacher" in that she was viewed by the other teachers at Westlake as having

mastered the teaching style they felt would best achieve the educational goals of the school; and Example C was chosen because I thought it would be interesting to show how a traditional subject such as math could be dealt with in a different way.

Example A - Writing. This course was not part of the Basic Skills curricula. Students were required to have a reading level of 8.0 or above.

The first thing that struck one's eye in this particular classroom was the total absence of any posters, decorations, charts, etc. The classroom was bare, except for chairs, a desk, a blackboard and cabinets.

The teacher and I were alone in the classroom when the students started to come in. They quietly walked to their chairs, sat down and waited. This went on for about five minutes, until the teacher started the roll call. About one quarter of the class was absent. When the roll call was finished, she gave them a test to do in class. She explained to them that they could never expect to write well unless they knew grammar and spelling, and that was why she was testing them again. The students did not seem surprised at the announcement of a test, so I assumed that this was a common practice on the teacher's part.

While the students were writing their answers, the teacher turned to me and said that the students needed this kind of exercise because not enough emphasis was ever put on the skills of writing in the other classes. "Content is what the other teachers care about," she said, "but if you don't know how to express content correctly, it is of no use."

At that point, one of the students raised her hand and asked if one had to change the sentence structure in order to make it a better sentence. The teacher replied: "Can't you read directions, child? Who are you to improve

on anything? All you have to do is to spell the words correctly or form plurals. What's the matter with you, anyway?" The student apologized and continued the test.

The door opened then, and a student came in late. She explained that she had been delayed because she had to see a teacher. As the student finished, the teacher jumped up from her chair and said: "What do you mean see a teacher? Does that imply that I am not a teacher? My pride gets galled at that! Who do you think you are talking to?" She started to pace up and down the classroom. I felt that this was some sort of act, but I did not know its purpose. The students were looking at me, half-smiling, half-frightened. She gave the girl a test sheet saying that she doubted that she (the student) could finish anything in time, but to go ahead and try.

After a few minutes, the door opened again, and another student came in late. This time the teacher took one look at him and said: "God knows that you can't afford to miss any part of this class; you are ignorant enough already, but here you are, late again!" She sounded rather disdainful when she said this, and the other students smiled. She handed him the test sheet and told him to do as much as he could. The student said nothing, went to his place and started to work.

A few moments later, the teacher collected the test. She announced that the two students who were late would get zero on their tests. She laughed while she said this, seemingly enjoying it. She then asked the students to carefully correct the papers that she would give to them, and she added that the boys would correct the girls' test and vice versa. She asked a student to read the first question and correct it. The boy hesitated and she started to ask him in rapid succession. The boy, who

already looked nervous (he was the one who had been late), kept getting more and more confused, and kept answering the wrong thing. She kept at it for a while and then said: "See, I told you that you couldn't afford to be late. You know nothing." While all this was going on, nobody in the class seemed to be surprised or upset. The teacher then asked another student to give the correct answer.

She then went around the room, until all the sentences had been corrected. She said nothing to those who answered correctly but continued to put down those who didn't. After this, she had the students read their peers' marks aloud. The grades were very low--nobody scored higher than 80/100, but she did not seem upset by this; neither did the students. She asked them to return the papers to their owners, and told the owners that if the student who corrected the paper made a mistake and marked a correct answer wrong, she would deduct ten points from his/her own paper. This happened to two students.

At this point, she gave them their homework assignments: they were to write a paper on "What I like most about myself." After that, she started to clown around, saying things about each student's personality. Her previous stern, heavy-handed self disappeared. She asked the youngsters what they like most about themselves. As they responded, she became very supportive of what they said. She became gentle, kind and understanding of each one of them as an individual, and helped each one in pinpointing the good things about him/herself. The atmosphere was totally changed. The students were obviously having a good time, and their rapport with the teacher was very good. Because this is a kind of relationship that takes time to establish, I imagine that they have this kind of interaction often with the teacher.

The period ended on a happy note. After class was discussed, some of the students came over to the teacher and talked to her for a while in a friendly, relaxed manner. After they left, the teacher turned to me and said: "It was a good class, wasn't it? I have a great relationship with all my students and I truly enjoy them."

Example B - Communications Theories Class. This course is not a Basic Skills course. All students have a 9.0 reading level or higher.

This teacher's classroom is one of the largest classrooms at Westlake. It is decorated with posters, charts, lines of poetry, paintings and mobiles. It's a sunny classroom, and it has a happy look and feel. The chairs are always arranged in a circle in the center of the room, and the teacher's desk is in one of the corners of this room, only to be used for paperwork when the students are not there.

Before the class started, the teacher explained to me that she was setting the mood for the students to deal with Maslow's theories of human needs. She said that she had asked them to divide up into groups and had given them cards listing those human needs that Maslow saw as important. She had asked the group to list them on the blackboard in order of importance. "Some," she said, "seemed to have had a hard time doing it, and many expressed frustration at having to do this. So today, we will discuss what happened yesterday and then we'll go on discussing Maslow's theories."

By then, all the students had come in and were sitting in a circle. The teacher and I were also part of this circle. She began the lesson by saying that she realized that yesterday's class had not been all that good. "I guess lousy is the word," she said. "I failed you in trying to make this class an interesting thing for you." Most of the students laughed, and some

said out loud that she was right. One student said that he felt very frustrated because he did not find support in his group for what he thought was important, and he finally felt rejected and not respected.

The teacher supported him and tried to get him to give examples. The boy said that for him beauty was the most important thing as far as needs are concerned. "Not physical beauty," he said, "but soul beauty, heart beauty, the beauty of a song, a poem, a blue sky." He added that his group had not listened to him when he voiced this opinion, and that had hurt him. Another student agreed with him at this point, and this was followed by a long, active discussion in which all present participated, each sharing their own feelings about what were the basic human needs.

The class was conducted like a seminar, and the students were constantly encouraged to speak their own minds openly. I sensed a lot of respect throughout this whole discussion, not only from the teacher to the students, but from the students towards her and each other. The emphasis seemed to be on personal honesty and care for each other as persons, as well as on learning how to deal with conflict in a constructive way.

After a while, the teacher stood up, and passed around a sheet of paper which contained Maslow's actual hierarchy of needs as he saw them. She presented the concepts to them and explained each one, then opened the class for discussion.

Again, a lively discussion followed. Some students didn't agree at all with Maslow. The teacher told them that their answers were all as correct, true and good for them, as Maslow's were for Maslow. Then they set off to answer some of Maslow's questions that were written at the bottom of the sheet. The teacher asked other questions as well, and helped and reassured

when the answers were given. Her rapport with her students seemed to be excellent. She seemed to know each one of them individually and seemed to relate to each one's unique needs. The students responded to her with obvious love and care.

The period ended without anyone noticing it, and someone had to come from the outside to tell us. The students left reluctantly. They had obviously enjoyed this class. As they left, I could hear them still talking about the subject.

Example C - Math. An example of how a Math class can be made a unique learning experience for the students by incorporating Art into it, was found in courses such as Visual Thinking and Art and Math. It was also a way of dealing with a shortage of Art teachers and using the talents of the staff in different areas. The following is a transcription of a visit to one such class.

> I went into Teacher X's classroom to observe her Math and Art class, and she told me that this class was taught in the Art room, so I walked with her to the classroom. As we walked, she explained that this class had evolved from her Visual Thinking class (Geometry) when the Art Department was completely wiped out by budget cuts. The Administration had decided to do this since she had always used art in her classes. In order to help her, they had hired a young man, an alumnus of (Westlake), who had been very good in his Art classes.
>
> When we arrived in the classroom, there were about twelve students busily working on their own. The Art Room at (Westlake) was a rather small room, but sunny and cheerful. It was decorated with lithos of famous painters such as Picasso, Van Gogh and Gaugin, and artwork made by different students. There were mobiles hanging from the ceiling, sculptures, silkscreens, and other different kinds of art media. The equipment seemed to be good, in working order and accessible.
>
> The teacher explained to me that the class had evolved into a kind of tutorial format, since each student was going at his own speed and was doing something different. She went on to

say that about half of the youngsters were Math students, and half were Art students. The Math students had to do homework and lessons related to geometry, while Art students did not, but both groups did artwork. The Art students were doing silkscreens and the assistant teacher was teaching them how to do them correctly. The students had created their own designs, cut their own stencils, and had decided to print them on their own tee shirts.

The Math students had wanted to print their own silkscreens on tee shirts also, so the teacher had stipulated that before they could do so, they had to calculate the areas of the designs correctly. This involved all sorts of geometric figures and formulas. Only when they did this, could they cut the stencils and use the silkscreens. This was an interesting process, since most students chose to do Spider Man, and had to calculate the area of every little triangle and other shapes in the body of Spider Man. The students did not seem to mind this process, and were working away diligently in order to achieve their goal.

I walked around the room, noting students working at different stages of the process. Some were still engaged in calculating areas (the teacher was helping them); some were cutting stencils by themselves, and still others were using the silkscreens with the assistant teacher's help. The atmosphere in the room was one of hard work and concentration. The students helped one another constantly, and asked questions whenever they needed help. They seemed to feel at ease and happy in their work. When the period ended, they put their work away, cleaned the room and left. Some stayed to ask the teacher some questions about their work.

I went to this class several times and the atmosphere was always basically the same. I had visited a Visual Thinking class the previous cycle, and they were doing a similar kind of project, but instead of silkscreening their results on tee shirts, they had painted large murals on all the walls of the third floor.

The Staff

Five years after the school officially opened I found that the staffing patterns of Westlake did not follow the original guidelines. Less than 20% of the teachers were either Black or Puerto Rican, and except for the very few who had been there since 1971, all were appointed by the Board of

Education, not hired by the Operating Committee or screened in any way. The following dialogue serves to illustrate this further:*

> A person from the district: Are teachers assigned to (Westlake)?"
>
> Teacher: Not at the beginning of the project. But, yes now. We've lost the power to hire and fire teachers.**
>
> Parent: t's not as bad as it sounds. At the beginning, when we didn't do such a good job, we hired some elements that were not constructive at all. It's six of one and half a dozen of another. Some of our best, most committed teachers have been appointed by the Board.

Yet a different opinion is voiced in this other piece of dialogue:

> Community leader: (Westlake) should have the power to hire and to fire the teachers, not the (NTU). If we are a pilot program we should be able to be that all the way.
>
> Community person: The Board of Education wants complete control over the school. They want the power to hire and fire.
>
> Parent: We are no longer a pilot program. We don't have an active staffing committee anymore. If we did they would be very active in evaluating teachers and in putting a lot of pressure on them to improve the quality of their teaching. We have to work at getting a good school.
>
> Community leader: Is (Westlake) integrated as far as staff is concerned?
>
> Teacher: No. We can't hire whom we want. We only get (NTU) teachers, mostly white.

Another noticeable change is that the staff is no longer made up primarily of volunteers. According to Laura Spivak:

> The staff we have now is not the staff we had five years ago. I don't at all mean to intimate present as opposed to original staff is more or less effective. I simply imply that the

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*Polk House Conference on Re-Direction, November 1975.

**According to Laura Spivak, Westlake and CCE only had the right to "hire and fire". But nobody was ever fired--this in spite of the fact that in several cases, the administration, parents, and students felt that sanctions were justified.

> original 10 staff knew what they were getting into; that is, when they applied for the job they realized they would be shaping an alternative school; that the amount of hours of work involved would be overwhelming; that the (NTU) contract in essence would be thrown to the wind. When (Westlake) lost the ability to screen and select its own staff two years ago, the very control over enforcing the notion that every staff member was obligated to participate on a committee was lost forever. The emergence of an (NTU) chapter as a protective power for teachers against performing mandated chores and contributing X amount of time, served to dissipate the original proposal's intent.

This is not to say that Westlake's staff does not meet the criteria set forth in the proposal. In January 1975, Dan Fenn wrote a report entitled "Planning and Staff Development - Westlake High School." In it he states (and as far as I could observe it still applies):

> By and large, the teachers care about the kids and they care about the teaching and learning for which they are responsible. The levels of those qualities displayed by (Westlake) staff members is higher than that found in most other urban high schools.

Yet, by the very fact that the staff is appointed, not volunteer, not selected by the community, the whole idea of an experimental, collaborative educational venture is jeopardized. No longer can one say that "it is governed, first of all by the community" (as the CCE proposal stated), since that community does not have a say as to who can or cannot be part of the venture, or set out to punish or reward appropriate or inappropriate behavior. In other words, the staff is now a given, and the community had to work with it, around it, or against it, if you will, but it cannot ignore it or totally change it.

Staff Training

From the inception of the project, staff training was considered of paramount importance at Westlake. According to Laura Spivak (one of the

original faculty), the need to build staff cohesion and a common philosophy of education led the first group of teachers to ask for special training sessions. These sessions, addressing those initial needs of the staff and other needs that arose over time, have continued to the present, with the exception of the 1975-76 school year when no staff training took place except during the last two months of the year. In May 1976, a weekend retreat was held in an effort to build up teacher morale and staff cohesion, as well as to talk about styles of teaching, educational philosophy and methods to improve instruction. As a result of this retreat, a new core program called Reaching Identity through Self-Knowledge (RISK) was adopted for Basic Skills students, and when the 1976-77 school year began, staff training was resumed.

According to Ms. Spivak, during the early years of Westlake, the emphasis of the staff training sessions was on building group cohesion, teamwork and problem-solving. As the school and the staff grew, and the latter was no longer selected by the community, but appointed by the Board of Education, the need to acquaint the new teachers with the ideas and philosophy of the school became extremely important, and this new goal became incorporated into the training sessions. Imparting new teaching styles, new content, new methods and new pedagogical technology also became a part of the sessions. These sessions were conducted once a week by either staff members or administrators, or in many cases, by outside resource people. Attendance was considered obligatory. According to the Fenn report:

> (Westlake's) problems are those of every successful revolution. What do you do when the first battles have been fought and won? How can morale and involvement be maintained when the grievances that prompted the original revolution are ameliorated and forgotten? How can people who never shared the original revolutionary fervor become more appropriate participants? How can leadership be adapted to the new situations?

Staff development at Westlake has tried to address itself to those major questions, and it has been successful in some areas, and unsuccessful in others. As Fenn states:

> It should be recognized that the people in the school and the school as a whole project a greater sense of competence and concern than any of the scores of urban schools with which I have worked.

But, he goes on to say,

> The single most salient characteristic about the staff is the decline in its felt need for improvement. This is not a matter of lack of dedication, but it is due to the fact that the staff has somehow decided that their current levels of achievement are good enough.
>
> The teachers thus reflect the problem of the school's success. The school has "worked". It is off the ground, an established, functioning, viable alternative. The patterns and relationships that have been invented (many of them are simply the re-invention of bureaucracy) ameliorate, displace, and sometimes solve the problems. The place works, people are content with their own contribution, and there doesn't seem to be a need to do anything different. Nor is there any great sense of involvement. Still, while almost everyone is satisfied with his/her own contribution, most people are quick to express dissatisfaction with others. That seems to reflect some scapegoating but also the hopeful residue of expectations about what (Westlake) should be.

Fenn cites other reasons for this "lack of a strong sense of need to improve or change." These are:

> The technology of education, the reliable knowledge about how to teach, the clear understanding of what works or what causes good teaching and learning is simply not very advanced. A situation in which one is personally at risk for what no one knows how to do is a situation of extreme vulnerability. (Westlake) teachers, no less than any others, have an understandable reluctance to further expose themselves by admitting a need for personal change. Such admissions are an overt recognition of failure and failure is often the occasion for confrontation with supervisors. In a community school that insists on accountability and that honors student criticism, the problem of vulnerability is tripled; thus, there is a high

> premium on denying the need to change and that is reinforced by the past accomplishments and general competence of the staff. If a high felt and acknowledged need for change are prerequisites for successful staff development, then these are critical problems for Westlake.

It is important to note here that things have dramatically changed at Westlake since Dan Fenn's study. The strained and difficult situation between the staff and the administration of which he speaks extensively in his study and that made the admission of failure or of the need to change, a confrontation, has been almost eradicated by the changes that occurred within the administration in the past year. Yet Fenn's concern about the lack of an expressed need to improve remains unchanged. In September 1975, the staff underwent a 50% turnover due to the city's financial crisis; the same happened in February 1976, and again in September 1976. This constant state of flux served not only to create a deep feeling of insecurity among the staff, but also had a demoralizing effect on the school. The normal attachment and root building that takes place when a teacher knows, or at least is reasonably sure, that she/he will be around a certain school for a while, could not take place, since no one knew when the next series of "excessing," "bumping" or "lay-offs" would take place, or who would be affected by it. The fact that you were a good, dedicated teacher, had nothing to do with the fact that you could have or keep a job. Seniority in the system had become the key. So in the light of that development, why change methods; why improve? By the same token, why should teachers build an identity in a school, or an attachment to it, if they don't know whether or not they'll be there next year, or even next semester? Fenn also mentions that "...many of the original revolutionary cadres have left and they took their zeal with them. The remaining veterans are more than a little tired and also understandably satisfied with their accomplishments."

This was true in January 1975, and more so the following year. Not only were few of the original teachers left at Westlake, there were also few people left in the school who understood or even knew what the original concept and formulation of Westlake was all about. The veterans were indeed tired, but not too satisfied with their accomplishments. If anyone knew that the school was not living up to the ideal, they did, and it was precisely they who moved towards having the May 1976 two-day retreat which has proven to be a catalyst as far as staff training and development goes for Westlake.

An added problem brought about by the staff turn-over is that more and more, the teachers who are assigned to Westlake are people with many years of teaching in the New York City school system, and who are accustomed to more traditional educational facilities. It is difficult for them to adapt to a whole different approach towards the students, the parents, the curricula, the grades, and virtually everything else. Passive resistance is the easiest way of dealing with it, i.e. listen to the new ways, but continue to do things the way you are used to. I have encountered this attitude several times with at least five of the new staff members. It seems that it will be a long, patient task to try to convert them to the philosophy and ways of the school, and that while this is going on there will continue to be problems and discomfort among the staff stemming from their different philosophies of eduation. Fenn concludes his study by saying:

> One way to summarize this assessment of staff characteristics is to point out the loss of community which (Westlake) has suffered. "Community" is an overworked and poorly understood term: its operational meaning is a willingness to work together to solve problems and this is exactly what has declined in the school. The original felt need has been extinguished by the school's success. Personnel changes

> have further diluted the sense of community. Problem-solving is now the province of the new rules and regulations, not the people in the institution. The identity of the school is blurred.

I agree with his summary, but not his analysis. The original need could not have been extinguished by the school's success. If the school had indeed succeeded, it would have established a process whereby those who partook in it would continue to grow and learn, would see that growing and learning as an ongoing thing--not as something done once and not perpetuated. I believe that the "felt need" was lost because it is difficult to institutionalize a revolution without creating a contradiction in terms, and Westlake, because of inner and outer pressures, has not found the way out of the contradiction. The school could certainly not become a perpetual experiment but it need not have become "a smaller regular high school" either. It is the task of staff development to educate the teachers towards finding a constructive dialectic between both extremes. As Fenn concluded:

> It needs to be recognized that none of the problems of (Westlake) staff has reached a level of pathology. In a way, the staff development function might be easier if it could be based on a crisis. There would be clearer signals, a more dramatic warrant to intervene and perhaps a greater chance of success. The original school was founded in that fashion. The challenge now is to be as successful in less dramatic circumstances.

I couldn't agree more.

Advising Function

According to the Student Manual:

> There is an advisor period every day. During advisor period, school-wide information is broadcast, attendance is taken, individual problems are reviewed and decisions and matters influencing all students are discussed. Advisor periods are opportunities for students to make friends, to familiarize themselves with important issues, to get to know one's

advisor and to develop a deeper awareness of (Westlake) High School. All students must attend advisor period daily. No student is permitted to leave the building during the advisor period.

According to Dan Fenn, the advisor system can be extremely problematic and contradictory:

> On the one hand, a teacher is expected to become a friend, confidante, and trusted sympathetic advisor of a small number of students. Fulfilling that role requires more intimacy with students than professionals expect. In contrast to those intimate demands, a teacher is also expected to serve simultaneously as the disciplinarian, rule enforcer and punisher of the same students. While the interaction in the first set of expectations is between the teacher and the student, in the second set the teacher must also consider the parents and the administration. Without formal training (or much inclination) in this area, the majority of the teachers have had a difficult time establishing themselves in the new role as their student's "friend" (roughly speaking).

The following dialogue during the Community Conference held at Lake Pocahontas in May 1975, underscores Fenn's observations:

> Parent: The teachers are not playing their role as disciplinarians. There is too much emphasis on friendship between teachers and students. I would like to see more discipline.
>
> Another parent: I feel that parents are not told when their children get in trouble. I feel that we should be informed and that teachers cover up for kids.
>
> Jack Horowitz: Parents cannot and should not be involved in every discipline problem. Teachers are responsible for discipline and they should be penalized if they don't do their job. But, many teachers are confused as to what their role is. They are torn between the role of disciplinarian and friend. This is neither clear nor well-defined in the teacher's manual.

During the time that Irene Lord was director of Westlake, there seemed to have been many disagreements and tensions surrounding the role of the advisor. Dan Fenn wrote in January 1975:

> There may be ways to reconcile such competing demands, but the administration has not provided them. Obviously, the recent administrative workshops are a significant

> exception. But while they have exposed teachers to some substantive assistance, they have also confirmed teacher fears about the unreality of administrative expectations. Teachers believe that they were being publicly demeaned for asking questions or displaying ignorance about dimensions of what is a very complicated and sophisticated task which teachers are not often called upon to perform. Instead of having their questions treated as neutral indications of a learning need or as a diagnosis (the sessions were nominally staff training sessions), they found that they were being rebuked for not already knowing what they had come to learn.

Since Ms. Lord's departure in September 1975, very little staff training has taken place which dealt with the issue of the advisor role. This, in spite of the fact that the unusually high rate of staff turnover has brought many new teachers to Westlake. The tension around the role of the advisor has eased, and the whole thing seems to have fallen into the sphere of benign neglect on the part of the administration. Because of the ambiguity and lack of training in this area, I found that teachers tend to play out their roles as advisors along personal lines, relying on their own convictions, background and personalities, for lack of more clearly delineated directions. In my observations of advisor periods, I discovered that there were, at Westlake, as many ways of dealing with the role as there were teachers. The relationships between advisors and advisees varied from extremely friendly, close, family-like ties to impersonal, distant, business-like ones. This lack of uniformity should not be considered as negative per se; but when one realizes that it is the advisor system that is supposed to bring cohesion and community spirit into the school, one cannot help but wonder whether this system as it presently stands, does not end up fragmenting the student body as badly as regular, traditional schools do.

The advisor system was created as a response to the belief that, "As technology advances, teachers may as well become obsolete, unless more can

be made than is usual of the human relationship between teacher and student. We believe that that relationship is the heart of the educational process." (CCE Prospectus, p. 10.) But, "...now that (Westlake) finds itself at a different developmental stage with additional demands being made on it (content coverage, attendance, custody, etc.), there is a need for greater rigor and a tightening of discipline." (Fenn study, p. 18.)

In the words of Dan Fenn:

> Some dimensions of the substantive problem can be ameliorated by training focused at the substantive needs...But those steps may or may not make much of a contribution to an effective advisory system . It should also be kept in mind that this may not be a developmental problem at all, but rather a redesign task. If training is insufficient, the advisor task may need to be redesigned.

The Students

In 1975-1976, the total register of students for Westlake was 449. That included 378 day students, 105 evening students and 66 Avanzar students. The ethnic distribution was:

Black Americans	146 or 32.5%
Spanish Surnamed	264 or 58.8%
White	35 or 7.8%
Other	4 or 0.9%

Among those of Hispanic background, "66 students were in need of bilingual educational services. At Westlake's inception, there was not one student who required this service."*

Recruitment and Selection Processes

The following dialogues will help to illustrate the processes of recruitment and selection, and how participants felt about them.

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*"Issue A: Servicing a Specific School Community," Leaflet distributed during Polk House Conference, November 1975.

A: Student: I had been to two other high schools before I came to (Westlake). I hated them both, and I really like (Westlake). My older brother came to (Westlake) also, and he recommended it to me, but when I first applied, I didn't get in.

Researcher: Why didn't you?

Student: It's hard to get into (Westlake). It's not like other schools. Here the kids interview you and decide whether you should become part of the school or not. I was very lucky to have been accepted.

B: I asked this student how he had heard of Westlake and how he had decided to come to the school. He answered:

> My older brother told me abouut (Westlake); he came to school here. One day he got a pass and brought me over to see the school. In those days (three years ago), you could get a pass easily and bring your friends and brothers over for a visit. Now there is so much red tape it's not worth it. I liked the school very much and decided to apply. After I applied, I was interviewed by one parent, one teacher and two students. I guess they liked the way I answered their questions and the fact that I really wanted to come to (Westlake), because they accepted me. You see, it used to be that people couldn't just come here and become a student. They had to be selected by other students, teachers and parents, so that we had a lot of good kids and very few bad ones.

According to both staff and students, most youngsters who come to Westlake have heard about it by word of mouth. Many are friends and/or relatives of present or past students, or were recruited by members of the Pupil Personnel Services Committee during their "information and recruitment" visits to feeder schools, junior high schools in the area, parochial and private schools. They do not differ from other youngsters in the area that choose to go to other high schools such as Jane Austen or Albert Einstein in academic performance, racial and ethnic background or socio-economic status.

After a student applies for admission at Westlake, he/she is contacted by the school and given a date(s) when he/she has to come to the school to

be tested and interviewed. The testing usually takes one or two days, and the students are given the California Achievement Test for reading, a Basic Skills Test for writing, a Speech Screening Test, a Fundamentals of Science Test and an "East Side/West Side" (Basic Skills Social Studies). These tests are aimed at establishing his/her competency in the different areas and to facilitate placement according to the level of his/her skills. The interviews usually last about thirty to forty-five minutes and are conducted by trained students who belong to the Pupil Personnel Services Committee (PPS).

In order to be an interviewer, the student must:

a. be a Westlake student for at least three cycles;

b. know the graduation requirements;

c. know the contents of the student handbook

- history of development of Westlake
- philosophy of Westlake
- committee functions
- structure of Westlake

d. be actively involved in a committee, program, or formal or informal extra-curricular activity;

e. demonstrate a commitment to his/her education at Westlake and have achieved a success rate of 50% in academic work for the past three cycles. The rationale for these specific criteria can be explained in the following manner: If a student has not demonstrated a commitment to his/her own educational destiny, he/she should not have the privilege of commenting and criticizing others entering Westlake.*

Besides the above requirements, the interviewers have to undergo

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*Pupil Personnel Services. Minutes of a meeting on April 23, 1974.

several training sessions which include the following:

a. values clarification

b. attitudinal identification

c. student design of questions with teacher assistance

d. simulated interviews

e. self-evaluation of interviews

f. exploration of interview techniques, including questioning and listening skills, as well as identifying negative and positive group strategies.

The interviewers also had a handbook, a copy of which can be found at the end of this case study.

Once the students have been interviewed, all the interviewers meet with the teachers who are part of the PPS Committee and the counseling staff and review each case one by one. According to both students and teachers who belong to the PPS Committee with whom I spoke, very few applicants are ever turned away from Westlake. Those who are turned away are youngsters who do not want to come to Westlake but are being forced to apply by parents, guardians, etc.; youngsters who show a negative or belligerent attitude; youngsters who scored extremely low in their reading and other tests (under 3.0) and thus evidence a deep social or learning problem. In the latter case the student is usually retested and referred to counseling services for alternative placement. During the past couple of years, there has been increasing pressure to accept every student who applied to Westlake regardless of attitude, abilities, etc. This attitude, referred to by some members of the staff as playing "the Board's numbers game", has important repercussions for Westlake. On the one hand, it is true that because of the fiscal crisis, the school cannot allow its register to go down, since that

would mean a loss in money, teaching positions, extra programs, and other resources that stem from the Board of Education. On the other hand, admitting every student without the screening process may change the character of the school and erode the sense of pride and belonging among the students. Among those who belong to the PPS with whom I spoke there is a strong feeling of "we shall not bow to pressure," and also a certain security in the fact that even now they turn down only very few youngsters every year. It may be added here, that this admissions process has not always been the same. As pointed out by one of the students interviewed in the preceding pages, the applicants used to be interviewed not only by students, but also by adults--a teacher and a parent. This method was discontinued when the PPS Committee decided that the present ssystem would be a better way of screening future students.

The Transition Orientation Workshop (TOW)

All incoming students are given an orientation to the school early in their first cycle. The orientation at Westlake is called the Transition Orientation Workshop (TOW) which was created by the students and staff. The idea to create a workshop for incoming students was based on the belief that Westlake was a different kind of school and that it would demand new and different things from those students; therefore an orientation workshop would ease their entering into this different situation. TOW was designed to meet this challenge.

The TOW is usually held in September, and consists of four workshops in the school building and one all-day session away from the school, sometimes at Harcourt or another nearby spot. The aim of TOW is to develop communication skills, build group cohesion and disseminate information--who is

who in the school, what the school structure and goals are, how things work at Westlake. Students are exposed to a number of humanistic multisensory exercises and games and a series of seminars. At the end of the TOW, all students are given an "exit test" to test their knowledge of the rules and regulations of the school and its philosophy and goals. The students also learn where to go if they have questions or problems. Not until he/she passes this exit test is he/she formally accepted into Westlake. The TOW seminar exercises are conducted by all the members of the PPS Committe, both students and staff, and Laura Spivak and Art Bentham (administration and counseling staff), both of whom were instrumental in designing TOW. (For a copy of the schedule of an all-day TOW workshop, an exit test and an evaluation questionnaire for TOW students, see Appendices.) According to Laura Spivak:

> TOW is one of the best things that we have developed at Westlake. It works. It is one of the things that serves to remind us of what Westlake should really be all about.

Pupil Personnel Service Committee

According to Laura Spivak:

> Only one committee, PPS, seems to have been able to sustain a self-motivating momentum wherein teachers and students have successfully and repeatedly accomplished the objectives of the committee regarding transition-orientation and recruitment.

This positive view of the PPS is echoed by a Westlake student:

> The only committee that I've ever enjoyed being on has been the PPS Committee. I have been on five committees since I came to Westlake, and I can see why other kids don't like to participate on them. Most of the time the adults monopolize the whole thing and talk over the students' heads. The kids get bored and stop going to the meetings. But PPS is different. The teachers in it are cool and we work together. We did a lot of work and felt good and responsible about doing it. We meet about once or twice a week and nobody ever missed a meeting. (FDF Interview.)

The Pupil Personnel Services Committee was created to serve two main objectives, as stated above: the recruitment of new students for Westlake, and the operation of the Transition Orientation Workshop. They also interview and screen incoming students, do some extra-curricular fund-raising and service the school when needed. There is no limit to the number of students that can be in the PPS committee; in 1975 there were about ten student members and in 1976 there were fifteen. There are usually two or three staff members in the committee, maybe more. All PPS students undergo an orientation process that includes:

a. an explanation as to why they want to join the committee

b. They should have the recommendation of their advisor.

c. successful completion of the required percentage of classes

d. They have to be familiar with the functions of PPS.

e. They have to study and know the contents of the student handbook.

f. successful completion of a quiz on the student handbook.

g. They will give feedback on how they think the training process is going.

h. They will participate in a training program to develop interview techniques:

- role plays
- team building day
- feedback session

The old PPS students organize and participate in the training of new PPS students together with the committee staff members.

Student Government

According to Jack Horowitz:

> This school year (1974-1975) is the first year that we had a student government. Up to this point, the students were theoretically part of all the committees that govern Westlake, but in actuality very few if any of them ever showed up for the meetings. That is why it was decided that some other vehicle for their participation should be made available. I feel that from now on there will be more student participation. (Lake Pocahontas Conference, May 1975.)

According to a student, on November 20, 1975:

> The student government worked well during the 1974-1975 school year; we had meetings which we all attended, made decisions, had input into what was happening. This year nobody seems to be interested in getting together again, and nothing has been done about it. Now we are trying to get the kids together again and see if we can work.

The student government, according to Mr. Horowitz, is the major vehicle for student input in the decision-making structure. It helps organize student activities, serves as a mediator between students, staff and administration when problems arise, and is a forum for student discussion. It has its own budget, and it does have some decision-making powers (in consultation with staff). The student government is made up of a Cabinet, consisting of six elected members, and a representative from each Advisor class; it also has a faculty advisor elected by the students.

As I noted before, the student government worked well during the 1974-1975 school year. When the 1975-1976 school year began, the student government did not reorganize itself. It was not until after the Polk House Conference (a community-school needs assessment conference) of November 1975, when the students who participated urged their peers to do so. At that time, the students held elections and their government began again. It functioned fairly well towards the end of the school year, having helped

organize a field day, a talent show, a fashion-disco and actively intervening in issues that arose between students and faculty. Early in the 1976-1977 school year it once again had a slow start. It began to function in November, after having had elections several weeks before. Those students whom I spoke to and who were part of the student government seemed eager enough to work and do their job in the areas of participation in decision-making, organizing activities, etc. Most students outside of the student government, with whom I also spoke, seemed quite disinterested in it. It remains to be seen whether a minority of active, interested students will be able to shake the majority out of its apathy. The survival of the student government seems contingent upon this.

Adult Education

> Adult education, from the beginning, has been a major concern of this project. The belief was that the program for adults should be integrated with the regular high school program. (CCE Proposal, p. 14.)

There is a continuous session,

> ...from 8:30 a.m. until 10:00 p.m., for teenagers and adults at (Westlake), unlike other schools that conduct separate evening sessions...Adults may attend (during the day, while) teenagers can attend at night. The mixture of teenagers and adults permits an end to the artificial isolation of teenagers that (can) distort their outlook toward adults. Adults are encouraged to take regular high school courses and master all the skills required for a degree, although single skills courses and high school equivalency opportunities are provided. ("Westlake H.S. - What It's All About," pamphlet published by CCE.)

In spite of the emphasis on the extended day, a separation remains between "day students" and "evening students." And as would be expected, most of the "day students" are school-aged, while most of the "evening students" are adults. In response to this, an "Adult Coordinator" was named. His job

was to coordinate the evening program and serve as liaison between it and the day program. Yet, the feeling of being apart from the mainstream still pervades, as evidenced in the following remark made by the Adult Coordinator during the Community Conference of May 1975:

> The adult students are not represented here at this conference or in (Joan Goppler's) study*, or in anything else. They feel so left out, that even when they were asked to send a member to the student government they preferred not to.

The evening program also suffers from understaffing, limited curriculum, a high degree of student turnover each year, and very few resources of any kind. The program was severely cut back in 1977 due to the loss of several grants crucial to help pay extra teachers and staff members as well as to provide for programming needs and the reductions in the supporting Services Contract. In 1978, however, the Board of Education agreed to provide funds for the program and the prospects of it surviving seemed bright.

Parents in the School

Although parental participation in decision-making and educational policy was considered vital, their presence in the school was hardly noticed. There was a core of parents who did come to meetings and who tried to involve others, but they were in the minority and were unable to create any lasting interest among the rest.

For a detailed account of parents and the particular problems that they faced in dealing with the school, see Chapter IV on the Collaborative Structure.

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*(Joan Goppler), "A Community Assessment of Educational Needs in (Ashburn) and (Manchester), and of Community Participation in Educational Decision-Making," June 1975, written as part of the NIE grant requirements.

The Administration

Since 1972, Westlake High School has operated under three administrators; a Director (in charge of education), a Deputy Director for Community Affairs, and an Executive Director (in charge of finances). According to Dan Fenn:

> (Westlake's) administrators are almost unanimously the objects of respect even among their critics. No one questions the administrators' integrity or dedication to the school. Many people are unhappy with the consequences of an essential moralistic set of performance criteria, but none dispute the intentions...the administration demands that students be treated with uniformly high performance expectations and with largely positive reinforcement techniques. Both expectations are then justified by the student behaviors which those expectations and techniques elicit. The system works and the administrators want the faculty to employ it with students as consistently and warmly as does the administration. However, the administration's relations with the faculty are modeled on vastly different principles. The faculty is assumed to be an optimally professional and mature group, self (and unselfishly) motivated and able to dispassionately incorporate criticism whenever it is asserted. The word most frequently used to describe those occasions is 'confrontation', a style of rigorous, overt, and often painful public criticism designed to enforce accountability. The administration seems to be guided by the following procedures. (1) Announcement of a very demanding set of outcomes or goals. (2) Reliance on the teacher's resources about how to reach those goals. (3) Administrative evaluation of performance. (a) If the performance is adequate, that is simply to be expected of professionals in a community school. (b) If it is not, the staff member should be confronted with the evidence of failure and a demand for remediation. The procedure leaves teachers (unlike students) with only negative sanctions levied against nearly unattainable standards. The consequences of these contrasting styles of interaction are as apparent as the differences in outcomes associated with the students and the faculty.

When Irene Lord left Westlake in June 1975, the administration was left in the hands of Jack Horowitz (Executive Director in charge of finances) and Harold Dixon (Deputy Director in charge of Community Affairs).

although Horowitz was formally named Acting Director in Ms. Lord's place. As I have previously mentioned, Westlake was troubled in the Fall of 1975 by difficulties stemming from the problems surrounding the renewal of the Supporting Services Contract, extensive staff turnover and a teachers' strike. Because of all this, the tension between the staff and the administration seemed to subside, since there was not much time for confrontations or evaluations.

Early in March 1976, Harold Dixon, one of the few original staff members left at Westlake, died in a car accident. His death caused both shock and dismay at the high school and CCE. He had been the liaison between the project and the Ashburn community, and it seemed that his absence would create a tremendous void. Jack Horowitz, as acting director of the school, was left with total responsibility for the project. He soon enlisted the help of two staff members, both of whom had been there from the early days of the school, to help him with both administrative and educational matters. This team, formed by Laura Spivak, English teacher, and Art Bentham, counselor, continued to be the directing and decision-making body of the school.

The New Leadership. Under the new leadership team, all decisions were made collaboratively by the three members; but since each had his/her own field of expertise, some division of labor occurred. Jack Horowitz, while retaining overall authority and responsibility, exerted his leadership mainly on Board of Education matters and in dealing with the staff and the logistics of running the school. Laura Spivak, on the other hand, emerged as the educational leader of Westlake. Her efforts were directed towards improving the curriculum, providing staff support and training, and dealing

with any academic problems that arose. Art Bentham, aside from being the head of the counseling staff, dealt with student problems as well as with the occupational-educational aspects of the program and with the parents. This new triumvirate seemed to be highly effective, and its members seemed to complement, rather than antagonize or compete with each other. It would be difficult to foresee what would happen at Westlake if any, or all three, of these people were to leave since the team arrangement seemed to be predicated more on personalities and skills than on a preconceived division of labor. In any case, it is unlikely that Westlake will ever revert to an administrator-governance structure. At present the Board does not favor it, and there are not enough economic resources to sustain it. The team approach that is currently in operation seems consistent with the overall philosophy of the school. In any case, it may be the only possible compromise between a centralized principalship in the traditional style and the division of power envisaged by the original proposal.

Westlake High School Since 1976

The 1976-1977 school year began with 50% of the faculty leaving and some staff positions being left open for several weeks. This caused low morale and insecurity among the remaining staff and unrest among the students, who felt frustrated by all the administrative confusion.

By this time, it had also become apparent that the committee structure, which had been designed to ensure participation of all involved constituencies, was faltering (see Chapter IV for more detail on this).

Irene Lord, who had been on leave the previous year, informed the Executive Committee of CCE that she would not be returning to Westlake, and formally resigned her position.

In spite of all these changes, registration was at an all-time high--well over 400 students. Part of the new student population was made up of Avanzar students, whose project had been discontinued due to lack of funds.

The second half of the 1976-1977 school year witnessed some additional staff turnover and an increased feeling of frustration among those who remained at the school. Tension between the community corporation and the school's administration reached an all-time high, eased only by the total collapse of CCE and the few programs it was still running.* De facto, if not yet de jure, Westlake had become a Board of Education school since there was no longer a community corporation to help govern it. Due to lack of funds, all non-Board of Education personnel had to leave and all the special programs were discontinued. The move to P.S. F did not take place, and instead, the Board allocated funds to renovate the Uptown school of Music building, a move welcomed by all at Westlake.

The 1977-1978 school year opened with much apprehension on the part of all at the school. For the first time in two years, there was some guarantee of staff stability (only one teacher was excessed), and enrollment was high. But the building was in shambles due to the renovation, and working conditions were, at best, trying. In spite of this, the first cycle ran smoothly. A shortened schedule, without free periods, reduced the time students spent in uncomfortable surroundings, and also reduced lateness, cutting and absenteeism. The "extra time" that the teachers had was put to

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*BELC became a corporation in its own right, and the group homes were attached to Albany House, a child-rearing agency.

good use: under the leadership of Jack, Laura and Art, the committee structure was revived. Only teachers were involved in the three committees that were operating (Curriculum, Staff Training and Programming). There was also a resurgence of the student government and attempts were made at establishing a parents' organization.

The adult education program survived the CCE crisis and was funded by the Board of Education. In addition, some of the old Avanzar staff were back, this time with an Upward Bound program located in St. Jerome's basement. Even CCE witnessed some attempts at revival, although nothing has happened yet to demonstrate that it may again become as important as it was.

There is an atmosphere of hope around Westlake lately. Morale is not too high (the confusion involved in renovation may explain that), but there is humor and a sheer will to survive on the part of the staff, the students, and the administration. While this attitude prevails, Westlake will never be "just another Board of Education school." It will always be something special.

Summary and Conclusions

Westlake High School has not lived up to all the expectations that were stated in the original proposal. It encountered many different kinds of problems including changes in the ultimate goal of the project--from a "pilot experimental school" to an "alternative school"; from a "community controlled school" to a "Board of Education" school; from a "volunteer" school, to a school where most of the staff and many students are "assigned"; from a well funded school, to a "down to the essentials" school; from the dream of a new modern facility to a dilapidated building; and so on. And yet, Westlake managed to create a unique educational environment.

It produced a special program encompassing academic, occupational and humanistic education which met the needs of today's inner city high school students and offered them an alternative within the system. Here lies the uniqueness and the lesson of Westlake: not in "community control", but in the creation of a learning community in which all concerned can and do participate--in the creation of a setting in which students and teachers alike are trusted and respected, and in which success in an expected outcome, not a miracle. I hope that the preceding pages have helped to define that unquantifiable phrase called a "good education."

So although Westlake has had its ups and downs, and cannot be described as the school it was intended to be, it is still a vital and special learning commmunity. This, of course, has not been the fate of CCE, nor of the dream of community control which marked its beginnings. In the following two chapters, I will attempt to explain what happened to CCE and that dream. In Chapter IV, I will describe the activities of CCE and Westlake in terms of their efforts to make community control a reality. The chapter will be primarily concerned with the committee structure--the problem-solving strategy which was devised to involve all constituencies in decision-making. I will attempt to explain why this structure did not work and how that failure contributed to weakening CCE. In Chapter V, I will look at some of the other difficulties CCE faced in its struggle to survive.

CHAPTER IV: THE COLLABORATIVE STRUCTURE

ABSTRACT

In this chapter I will describe the state of the collaborative (committee) structure--the problem-solving strategy proposed to NIE--as it struggled to function in 1975. It was here that the failure to involve the community was to take its toll, especially in view of the changes the population of the school had undergone since 1971. This failure was compounded by the fact that the leaders' idealism prevented them from adapting to the reality of their changing situation.

THE COLLABORATIVE STRUCTURE

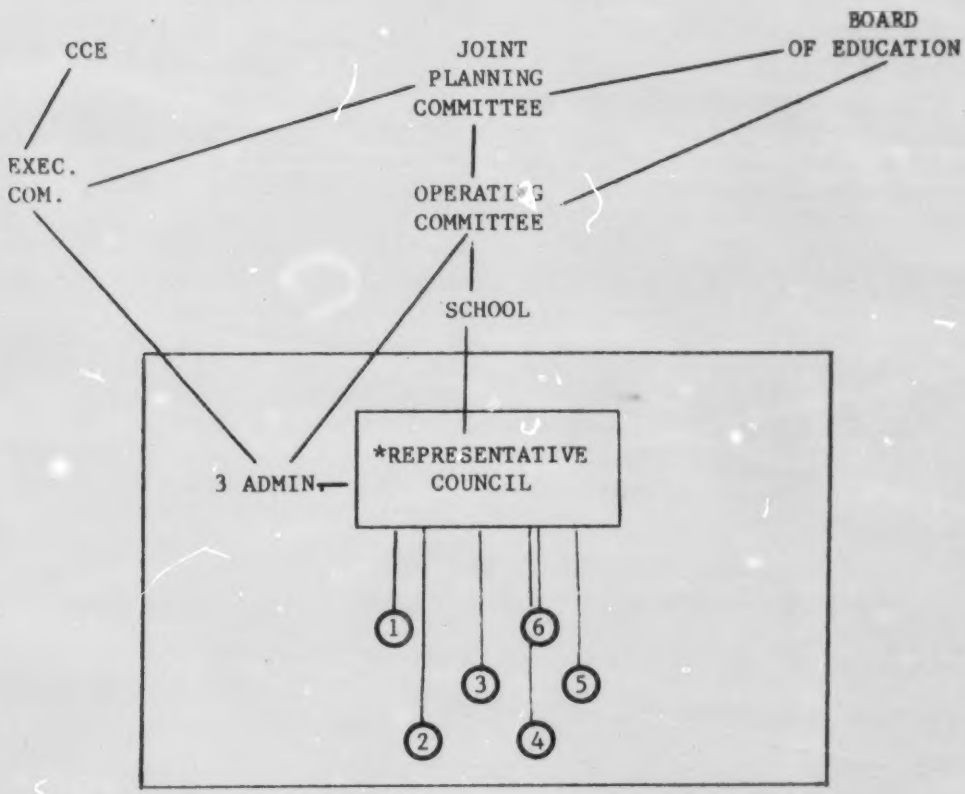
Introduction

As previously stated, Westlake was originally envisioned as a school in which the members of the community would actively participate in the life of the school, and share in its decision-making processes. CCE was envisioned as the major vehicle for parent and community contributions to educational policy-making (see Figure II, p. 101).

If a problem arose in the area of curriculum, it would be handled by the Curriculum Committee (composed like all other school committees, of members of the staff, students and parents). The Committee would submit its recommendations to the Representative Council, an advisory body consisting of four students (including one adult student), four parents, one non-teaching staffperson, two teaching staffpersons, one administrator and two community representatives. The Representative Council would approve or disapprove these recommendations and refer them to the three administrators for final approval and implementation. The Operating Committee would not normally interfere with matters relating to the day-to-day running of the school. They would only be called upon to decide on matters of policy, or to change or alter the philosophy of the school. The same applied to the Joint Planning Committee. The Executive Committee of CCE would only deal with matters internal to CCE or the community.

By the time I began my observations of the project in May 1975, it was evident that the committee structure was not working as planned. Throughout the next two years, efforts were made to understand and do something about this problem. But these efforts also failed.

FIGURE II: COLLABORATIVE STRUCTURE OF CCE-WESTLAKE HIGH SCHOOL



*1. Curriculum Committee

2. Communication Committee

3. Budget & Finance Committee

4. Pupil Personnel Services

5. Program & Registration Committee

6. Staffing Committee

The State of the Structure: 1975-1976

When I first came into the school in May 1975, many of the committees were meeting with both staff and students. From the end of May, when I made my entry, to the end of June, when the school adjourned for the summer, I went to five Curriculum Committee meetings, three Communications Committee meetings and two Pupil Personnel Services Committee meetings. Attendance at those meetings ranged from nine teachers and one or two students at most Curriculum Committee meetings, to eight students and six teachers at the PPS Committee meetings, to five staff members at the Communications Committee meetings.

On June 6 and 7, a conference was held at Pocahontas for parents, community members, staff, students and administrators to discuss a "needs survey", developed by Joan Goppler, hired under the NIE grant for this purpose. At this conference, it became evident that parents and community members felt they knew very little about Westlake and had not been participating in the process of educational decision-making. In particular, questions relating to the criteria for admission, evaluation of students, graduation requirements, and discipline problems were repeatedly heard. For example:

> I don't know how to complain or to whom about teachers. I didn't even know (Jack Horowitz) until now, and I am a concerned parent whose son has been at (Westlake) for four years...
>
> ***
>
> I'm never told what's going on with my child or what his problems are. I should be informed...
>
> ***
>
> There are too many useless courses at (Westlake). Things I don't understand or see the value to. I wish someone would explain to me whay my kid is being taught and why...

(Pocahontas Conference, Group I -- June 7, 1975.)

At the end of the conference, the participants selected an ad hoc committee of twelve people to formulate some concrete guidelines to be acted upon by the school's administration. At a meeting on June 9 at St. Jerome's Church basement, this ad hoc committee was unable to help the school achieve its purpose. After a frustrating, long discussion, they decided to:

> ...send a letter making a few blanket statements addressed to the Operating Committee, supported by a copy of all the minutes of each of the groups that had met during the conference. This document would also go to CCE's Executive Committee, and it would be the responsibility of both these committees to inform the administration of Westlake of the feelings and resolutions contained in the letter and the minutes. The administration in turn, would have to come up with means by which they would try to implement these by the third week in September.*

From June 9 to June 27, various participants in the Pocahontas Conference (mostly parents, some members of the community, one staff member and Jack Horowitz) met four times to try to formulate some concrete goals out of the feelings evidenced in the letter and minutes of the conference. These meetings were long (an average of three to four hours) and were characterized by the same problems that confronted the ad hoc committee meeting: bewilderment and frustration. At a meeting on June 23, Jack Horowitz suggested "that they form another committee to look at and make decisions about the direction of the Pocahontas conference, the Needs Assessment survey conducted by Joan Goppler, and to talk to parents via phone calls, visits, etc." Joe also suggested that they rewrite the student and staff manuals, write a manual for parents, and meet through the summer in order to meet the September deadline. These two motions were passed unanimously, but the committees were never created, they never met during

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*Meeting of the ad hoc committee set up to make final recommendations from the (Pocahontas) Conference, June 9, 1975.

the summer, and the manuals were never written or rewritten. The whole thing seemed to fall into oblivion, and by September, because of other pressing matters which will be discussed in Chapter V, it was totally forgotten. Some months later, Peggy Jackson, a parent at Westlake, said:

> Conferences and meetings are a waste of time. We met at (Pocahontas), discussed many issues, and nothing ever came out of the recommendations that we made.

to which Sean Donegal, who had replaced Cecil Stuart at CCE, responded:

> Something happened last spring and things were not followed up. We are having another conference because we obviously don't have a group to implement the decisions that the community makes, and we have to create such mechanisms.

and Jack Horowitz:

> We have problems. The (Pocahontas) Conference was held in order to get some feedback on our operation. It ended with recommendations and suggestions about responsibilities within the school and about parent-teacher relationships. We tried to implement them, but nothing materialized due to the Supporting Services crisis. There were things happening that were more pressing.

and again Peggy Jackson:

> The issues of the Pocahontas Conference were totally ignored.
>
> (Polk House Conference, October 26, 1975.)

During the first half of the 1975-1976 school year, there were virtually no committee meetings at Westlake. In October 1975, a conference was held at Polk House to re-evaluate the NIE grant strategy (the committee structure). This conference, like the one held at Pocahontas, was open to members of all constituencies. It became obvious that apathy and lack of involvement among Westlake parents and community members were becoming the rule, not the exception. According to Linda Blair, a parent at Westlake:

> We have to question our processes. It is obvious that they are not working. If we are here to be representatives of the different constituencies, why have we not been elected by them or have their concerns made known to us? We are only representing ourselves!

and to Sean Donegal:

> The committee structure is great on paper, but I don't think it has ever really worked out in reality.

and to Joan Goppler:

> There has been a serious decrease in the level of sustained active participation on the part of students, parents, and other community people, especially in decision-making activities. Perhaps we need new options that are above and beyond the committee level. Not everyone can participate that way.
>
> (Polk House Conference.)

As a result, a number of task forces were established to review and assess the structure of collaborative decision-making at Westlake. The task forces met a few times, but were soon overtaken by the same apathy and lack of involvement that they were organized to question and combat. They ended up disbanding with no tangible recommendations for the project at large. According to Cheryl Davis, a Westlake student with whom I spoke on February 21, 1976:

> All the task forces are dead, except the one I am in, Accountability, and we seem to be about to fold. We had been meeting every week and were doing a fairly good job, until we realized that we were the only ones doing so, so I guess we'll stop. The other task forces met only once or twice, maximum three times, and produced no written documents or anything. Then after a while, met no more. Nothing has happened, and nothing will.

This was corroborated later by Maria Lopez from CCE, Jack Horowitz and Sean Donegal.

The Representative Council, the internal governing body of the school, did meet more or less regularly, but since 1973 it had spent a tremendous amount of time trying to redefine its role and structure, leaving most crucial decisions to the school's administration, or serving as a mere rubber stamp for the committee's decisions. It too suffered from lack of

attendance, participation and involvement. According to Linda Blair:

> We (the Representative Council) were not too sure what our role was vis-a-vis the administration and the committees, so we spent the past year or more trying to define our role and to understand it better. It has been hard, because not too many people are interested or want to participate.

and Sallie Blair, her daughter:

> I know that my mother tries to participate, but sometimes she has a tough time with the administration. They want to control and direct everything and get their two cents worth into every project. They are too authoritative.

and Laura Spivak:

> The approval of committee decision-making by the Representative Council has been slow and tedious, and in certain instances, ineffective. Expertise in specific areas is lacking, and at times, the committee simply rubber stamps approval of committee decisions such as the 1973 package of curricula, which was overwhelming in extent and content. The massive amount of material and complexity of curriculum approach were never really "studied" by the council. In essence, the council said, "We'll go with this, since you say this is the best you have to offer."

The Joint Planning Committee had disappeared after 1972, and the Operating Committee failed to meet after the first few meetings. Only the members of CCE that served in it, the delegate from the NTU, and one of the school administrators, whom AS viewed as its representative, ever came to the meetings. The Board of Education and Central University stopped attending altogether.

In Sean Donegal's words:

> The Operating Committee has never voted yet for anything. They've always acted in consensus because we've never had all the different representatives from the different groups that we are supposed to have. It's really not a working body.

CCE faced many of the same problems. Theoretically its constituency was quite large, but involvement seemed to have been the realm of only a

few faithful supporters, with less than half of the committee members attending meetings. Only two of approxximately ten meetings of the Executive Committee that I attended had a quorum of more than eight members.

There have been several evaluations made of the collaborative structure during the past few years. These evaluations, conducted by professional people such as the Research for Learning Corporation (RLC) and Joan Goppler, repeatedly mentioned the non-functioning nature of the structure. They provided insights into the attitudes of the different constituencies toward participation, the actual nature and extent of their involvement, some of the barriers and problems they encountered and suggested strategies for overcoming them.

According to the Research for Learning Corporation report, actual community participation and communication was not consistent with the stated goals of the project. It stated that while committee membership and other opportunities for participation were available to the community, the consensus was that few people were actually involved.*

Joan Goppler found that neither parents nor students were active participants in the decision-making processes of Westlake and CCE, and that many whom she questioned were unaware of the way the processes worked or how they could participate. Among other things, she suggested that there was "a need to explore avenues for parent involvement other than those designed to provide for their participation in decision-making," since "in view of parents' own needs and problems the expectation of regular attendance at committee meetings seems to be unrealistic."

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*Goppler, Joan, "A Community Assessment of Educational Needs in (Ashburn) and (Manchester), and Community Participation in Educational Decision-Making," June 1975, pp. 2-5.

These studies, although perhaps carefully read, were never implemented. All the above seemed to point to a real crisis in the collaborative structure. Westlake and CCE seemed to be caught in a double bind. On the one hand they were committed to a collaborative process, but the means which they chose to implement this process were no longer meaningful. Yet, time and time again, when the committee structure was questioned, whether from the outside (evaluations by professsionals) or the inside (Polk House Conference) the response was to defend the structure itself, without stopping to analyze whether it was accomplishing its goals.

Vivid examples of these dynamics were exhibited during the Polk House Conference. During one of the meetings, when the collaborative decision-making mechanisms were being discussed, all present agreed that they were not functioning well. Francisco Pineda, Title I Director for District E, suggested that they should look for an alternative structure to implement collaboration. Mr. Pineda was the only "outsider" at this particular meeting, and the reaction to his suggestion was both immediate and uniform. Paolo Luchesi's words, "Don't throw the structure away if the people are the ones who don't work!" were echoed by all present. When a vote was taken to clarify the feelings of the group, all except Mr. Pineda voted to give "a vote of confidence" to the already existing structure, and to find ways to encourage people to become a part of it. This pattern was repeated in other group meetings at the conference. It became apparent that the means had become more important than the end; the medium had become the message. The committees were made into a principle; they were made to satisfy an abstraction instead of satisfying a situation. Examples of this abound. Of all the meetings that I attended, only a handful made any

decisions after long hours of deliberation, and even fewer implemented those decisions. But the fact that they met, not what they actually accomplished, seems to be what fulfilled the requirements. Thus, one can probably say that the committee meetings had become little more than a ritual which reproduced and veiled the disparities between myth and reality.

Reasons for the Failure

Inability to Adapt to Changes

As previously mentioned, the idea of Westlake High School and of CCE was originally conceived by a relatively small group of parents and community leaders from Ashburn and Manchester. Their original design called for a large educational center that would serve over 4,000 students from both communities, while at the same time providing a variety of social services to the area. The pilot project was conceived as a first step in the process, as a way of testing hypotheses and philosophies and their workability.

In any experimental situation, some variables have to be controlled in order to insure the viability of the experiment, and the pilot project was no exception. Thus, it was stated in the Proposal:

> All students (and by extension their parents) will be volunteers: no student will be admitted unless he and his parents understand the experimental nature of the program. (emphasis added)

and, in the words of Laura Spivak:

> ...the original staff knew what they were getting into; that is, when they applied for the job, they realized they would be shaping an alternative school; that the amount of hours of work involved would be overwhelming; that the (NTU) contract in essence, would be thrown to the wind... (emphasis added)

In other words, all who participated in the early planning and subsequent implementation of the pilot project knew what they were getting into, chose to get into it, and understood what it was all about. They shared a minimum common denominator, which contributed to their ability to work together, plan together, and most importantly to understand each other.

A year and a half after the pilot project had begun, some drastic changes occurred. First, the school was moved from the small facility at St. Jerome's Church basement into a larger facility at the School of Music; and enrollment and staff doubled. Second, it became apparent that the Board of Education had abandoned the idea of a comprehensive education center serving 4,000 students. Thus, the experimental status of the project was cancelled since it was no longer a testing ground for ideas that would later be put into practice within the larger system. In effect, Westlake became another alternative school, one more among the many that had sprouted around the city, and tolerated by the Board of Education because it represented limited, contained change, and no real threat to the established ways. Whatever changes Westlake had or hadn't instituted would never be studied or evaluated by the Board, since these changes would not go beyond Westlake itself.

There had been a radical change in the purpose of the pilot project in its relationship with the Board of Education, and with the population that it was serving and would continue to serve. These changes were never evaluated or allowed to modify the theory underlying the daily practice of the school. Changes did occur, but they were never coherently formulated into a new theory, thus creating a dichotomy between "what was supposed to be," and "what really was."

Changes in Population. The proposals for Westlake High School, and subsequent attempts at implementation, while seeking to respond to what was envisaged as concrete, practical needs, were nevertheless filled with ambiguous concepts and assumptions. These may have been well understood by those who conceived them, since they were all volunteers who (a) came to the project with an understanding of it, and/or (b) had been thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the school and its goals before becoming active participants. Yet, these same concepts and assumptions seem to have become confusing to many others who missed the initial stages and joined the project later.

Many of those who came to Westlake after the first year and a half of the project, were either assigned to the school (as in the case of teachers), or based their decision for coming on geographical reasons, availability of space in other schools, etc., all of which had very little to do with acceptance or knowledge of the philosophy of Westlake. Even those who did come because "they had heard good things about the school" from friends and/or relatives (as was the case with many students and parents) had little real knowledge of what the project was all about, and sometimes that sketchy knowledge was inaccurate.

Interestingly enough, even though Westlake acknowledged that it represented a rather radical departure (at least in principle) from most traditional high schools, it provided little or no orientation to its new par-ticipants. It is true that the Transitional Orientation Workshop, described in Chapter III, was designed to introduce the new students to the school and acquaint them with its philosophy and expectations, but it never addressed questions dealing with the actual workings of structure and how to meaningfully participate in it. Perhaps even more importantly, it was not

an ongoing mechanism that could provide a continuing support that would aid in their growth and understanding of the process. Parents and staff did not even have the benefit of this introduction. They were left on their own to interpret the proposal and other documents, and devise their own strategy for participating in the structure presented to them. This, of course, led to confusion, misunderstandings, and frustration. In addition, since individuals and groups were left on their own, very few of them were aware of the needs of others in the project--needs that had to be met as a prerequisite to any meaningful participation. This lack of awareness led to concrete problems, discussed below.

Communication Problems

Most members of the Westlake-CCE community I interviewed during my documentation of the project seem to have a very hazy, confused idea of the governing structures and the decision-making powers in the project. Authority and responsibility did not seem to be clearly defined; very few people knew who was supposed to do what, when. Similar problems were presented to different committees according to where the person in question felt they should go, or where he/she would get a sympathetic ear. Sometimes problems were referred back and forth from committee to committee, postponing decisions indefinitely. Few members understood the purpose of the Representative Council, the Operating Committee, the Executive Committee, or even the CCE.

Madelyn White, a member of the Executive Committee said during a meeting in 1975:

> I've been a member of the Executive Committee for almost two years and I still don't know what I am supposed to do or what this whole thing is all about.

And during a meeting at the Polk House Conference, another member of that committee said, "I am in the Executive Committee, but I am not sure what we are all supposed to be doing there or in any other committee for that matter." This was supported by two other members of the committee. Later, during that same meeting, Maria Lopez said, "There should be a body coordinating all the school committees and reporting to CCE's Executive Committee." This statement was supported by the ten discussion participants, none seeming to know what the Representative Council was supposed to be.

During an Executive Committee meeting, Joe Musante, chairman, said:

> I received a letter from the Representative Council dated October 14, 1975, telling me about the new guidelines for their committee. I didn't even know about this before!

To which Jack Horowitz replied:

> That letter should not have gone to you. It's not within your jurisdiction. It should have gone to the Operating Committee.

To which Mr. Musante replied:

> Okay, I'll send it to them. I still don't know what I should get from whom.

According to Laura Spivak in her June 1976 memo:

> We are still in conflict as to what problems what committee should handle, e.g., should graduation requirements be handled by Administration, PPS, Guidance Department or Curriculum Committee.

I saw this problem vividly on June 17, 1975, when a question about a particular student's graduating arose. She took the problem to the Guidance Counselor, who took it to the Curriculum Committee, who in turn referred it to the Pupil Personnel Services Committee. The PPS Committee made a recommendation to the Representative Council, who adopted it. When a similar

problem arose in June 1976, it was the Administration who made the decision.

Personal roles are also a subject of confusion. When Westlake had the three administrators, teachers and students realized that each of the directors was responsible for a different aspect of the school's administration, but they were not too sure as to what that implied in a day-to-day situation. Most of those with whom I spoke dealt more with personalities than formal role definition, addressing their particular problem to the administrator they felt more at ease with or whom they felt would be most responsive to his/her predicament.

One of the most blatant aspects of this problem at both CCE and Westlake was the lack of any provision to insure adequate English-to-Spanish translations for the non-English speaking members of the school and community, a group who constituted over 40 percent of the CCE and Westlake population. The absence of adequate translation applied not only to the meetings, but also to memos, newsletters, announcements, student evaluations, notices and circulars. As a result, most parents of Spanish background felt not only excluded from the decision-making processes of the school, but also from the educational life of their children. Examples were found at the Pocahontas Conference:

> (Sean Donegal) followed with a talk aimed at defining what the NIE grant is. At this point, there is an interruption because (Sean) is speaking in English and about one third of the people there cannot understand him. It is decided that there will be a simultaneous translation. (Sean) himself starts translating, but seemed unable to do so; two other staff members tried and also felt uncomfortable. Then the chairperson of the meeting asked me to please do the translating, which I did, and continued to do for the rest of the meeting.

Note that I am an outside observer who had gone to the meeting in order to document them, not to participate.

Later that evening:

> (Gil) starts reading from (Joan Goppler's) paper, and he is interrupted by one of the Spanish-speaking parents, who points out that while everyone has a copy of five papers and a questionnaire in a language that they can read (English), the Spanish-speaking parents only have one of these papers because the others were not translated. She says that is one of the reasons why Spanish-speaking parents do not participate in the life of the school.

And during one of the group meetings the next day, one of the parents said:

> My children's evaluations at the school are written in English, and I cannot read or understand them. I have to rely on them for telling me what the evaluations say. I hope they are telling me everything, but I cannot be sure. I feel helpless.

Laura Spivak writes in a memo to Jack Horowitz, "Many of our parents are non-English-speaking and all of our committee meetings are run in English."

And Joan Goppler says in her survey:

> Other specific ways of encouraging parent participation in school activities might be...to hold some school meetings in Spanish specifically for parents who are reluctant to attend because of their lack of competence in English.

Another aspect of the communications problem was "selective communication." Dates, times and agenda of meetings were often communicated by word of mouth or in writing, but communicated ineffectively. The following dialogue during an Executive Committee meeting between Sean Donegal and Jose Marrero, a member of that committee, exemplifies this problem:

> Jose:
>
> I never get most of the information. I always find out about things after the fact or through rumors. I feel that there is a process whereby only certain people get certain information and others don't. There is nothing wrong with the mail. It's a matter of policy!

Sean:

Listen, we all know that our communications are bad. I grant you that sometimes, maybe wrongly, we do feed information selectively, but it's mainly because of the time factor. I'm sorry.

In my experiences, notices for meetings were many times posted the same day or maybe the day before, leaving people insufficient time to plan to attend. When they were mailed, I many times received the notices after the fact, and when announced by word of mouth, I was told only a few hours before. I found this to be true for most people in the project when I conducted an informal poll. Unfortunately, in many instances the people left out were those who had an opposing point of view. Thus, the committee meetings and conferences that were theoretically opened to every member of the Westlake-CCE community, and were supposed to represent the different constituencies of that community were, in fact, a group of the same people making decisions.

The following dialogue during an Executive Committee meeting illustrates this:

Jose Marrero:

Staffing is the problem with the group homes. There was no real community or executive committee involvement in chosing the home-parents. That was a mistake.

Paolo Luchesi:

Sean made the choices because nobody came to help. It's not up to you to decide if the choice was good or bad now.

Jack Horowitz:

That's true. Where was the Executive Committee when we needed it? Very few of you ever come when there are serious problems, and we have to make all the decisions by ourselves. But, when you don't like those decisions then you scream.

Jose:

> Nobody ever consulted me! Things around here are decided by a few always. This is a mock decision-making body. We are just puppets! We are being used as figureheads in order to say that there is community input. But we never make any real decisions.

Other members of the committee agreed with him.

Scheduling and Dynamics of Meetings

When Westlake committees were functioning, the meetings themselves posed some serious problems. These problems extended from the CCE Executive Committee meetings to many other gatherings and conferences. The whole structure seemed to suffer from a curious disease which we shall call "meetingitis". They met constantly, whether there was reason for the meeting or not. Most meetings tended to be long, repetitious, unorganized, boring and ineffective. They seemed to be a good way to discourage people from ever attending them, at least those who did not have a high "meeting tolerance" and couldn't survive hours of non-productive talk. Most of the meetings which I attended, whether committee meetings or "emergency" or "ad hoc" meetings, lasted well over two hours, sometimes as much as five hours. Whenever an agenda was given, it was seldom followed, things usually getting bogged-down during the first or second time. In an informal poll, I found that most people interviewed felt that meetings were too long and boring; this was corroborated by the number of them who left while the meetings were still in progress.

Scheduling also presented a problem. Meetings, held during the day, excluded most working parents and members of the community. Evening meetings often excluded students and teachers who had other personal or

professional commitments. No compromise was reached, so meetings were usually held at the hours convenient to the members of the group meeting.

According to Laura Spivak's memo to Jack Horowitz:

> Some staff members think it is an impingement upon their personal time to meet after 3:00 p.m. or before 8:30 a.m. Thus, the input of these staff members would always be missing from crucial decision-making and collaboration.

And:

> Parents who might be interested in committee participation are not available during the day or at 3:00 p.m.

Conclusions

The failure of the committee structure invites some interesting considerations. The philosophical base on which both CCE and Westlake rested was that education and other community services functioned better and were more fruitful when all of those who had a stake in them shared in all levels of the decision-making process. It was this principle of collaboration which was the life-blood of the project and which was probably primarily responsible for its early success. The committee structure, which emerged at first as a strategy which embodied this principle, responded to the needs that a particular group had at a particular time. But, as time went by and changes occurred, the strategy became confused with the principle; or at least, became equated with it. It was as if, for CCE and Westlake, collaboration could only occur in the context of the committee structure, and questioning the vehicle was tantamount to questioning the principle--and this was heresy!

Both Westlake and CCE people could see that the vehicle wasn't working; but because changing it was viewed as being untrue to the original dream,

the only option was to keep blaming themselves (the human component) and to promise a "change of heart", i.e., "we'll try again, only harder this time." This kind of evaluation could only lead to intolerable frustration which may explain why many simply dropped out of the project, giving up in the face of a dream that could not possibly be fulfilled.

The inability to adapt the principle of collaboration to a vehicle that would correspond better to the changed reality (e.g., different numbers of people, different kinds of people, change in the spirit of the times, etc.) made the committee structure into a meaningless ritual--attended to because it was part of a tradition, but done so mechanically because it did not respond to a need.

The problems associated with the failure of the committee structure outlined in this chapter point to a curious situation. In the beginning, collaboration was seen by the founders of CCE and Westlake as a way of avoiding alienating the participants of a system--of putting people before structures. The paradox is that in stubbornly holding on to the committee structure, the structure became more important than the participants, thus alienating the majority and putting the structure before the people.

The inability to adapt to a changing reality, evidenced by CCE's problems with establishing a workable collaborative structure, was also to characterize other CCE endeavors. In the following chapter, I will describe CCE's handling of its affairs in the face of both internal and external difficulties. These difficulties and CCE's inability to change were to lead to its ultimate demise.

CHAPTER V: CCE - THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

ABSTRACT

In this final substantive chapter, I will describe the CCE as it functioned in 1975-1976. Here I will demonstrate how the strengths and weaknesses of the project, in particular those which resulted from the two decisions its founders made at the outset (to put off the involvement of the community and to compromise by collaborating with the Board), had not fundamentally changed since the project's inception in 1969. I will highlight both the internal difficulties they were experiencing and their struggles with a more conservative (than in 1969) Board of Education to renew the Supporting Services Contract. The chapter will end with a description of the demise of CCE and the relationship which was subsequently established between Westlake High School and the Board of Education.

CCE-THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I discussed the problems that beset the internal governing structure of CCE and Westlake High School (the problem-solving strategy proposed in the NIE grant proposal). In this chapter, I will focus on some of the struggles the members of CCE had to deal with in their attempts to implement the original design for both the school and other community services.

This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first part, entitled "Internal Struggles" will be concerned with some of the problems (aside from those relating to the committee structure) that were internal to CCE. In particular, it will deal with struggles involving the issues of funding, the utilization of funds, and those relating to CCE's role re Westlake High School. Part II, "External Struggles," will focus on the difficulties CCE encountered in its relationship with the Board of Education with respect to the contract that bound the two in their original collaboration--the Supporting Services Contract. In particular, it will be concerned with negotiations that took place in 1975 involving contract renewal, leading to the ultimate demise of CCE. The chapter will end with a brief description of the relationship which developed between Westlake and the Board following the demise of CCE.

Internal Struggles

As the reader knows, CCE was conceived as a community corporation which would provide a number of services for the Ashburn-Manchester community in addition to the high school. Because of funding problems, the

goals were never accomplished. From the beginning, inability to secure adequate funding was to prevent CCE from establishing many of the special services and from maintaining those they were able to get started.

By 1974, the status of these efforts was as follows:

> CCE is still looking for money to provide the community services it wants to offer through the center. It did operate an Early Learning (day care) center for eighteen months, but ran out of money and had to close the facility. It also wants to open several "group homes" for youngsters who otherwise may be institutionalized. But in this case, too, it has been unable to come up with enough money to carry out its plans. An effort to seek out and aid needy families in the community was dropped because of lack of funds and because it got lost in the shuffle as CCE concentrated on operating both the high school and an adult education component offered in conjunction with the regular high school program. (Pamphlet put out by CCE, originally published by the National Jaycee, p. 4.)

By 1976, CCE had received funds to renovate the Church of the Assumption in order to house BELC (Brooke Early Learning Center), their day care center. This renovation was almost completed when it became evident that, due to budget cutbacks in the city, they would be unable to secure funds to operate the Center. At the end of the 1976-1977 school year, because of financial pressures and infighting among its members, CCE had to relinquish responsibility for BELC, which became a separate entity. The BELC people were also unable to appropriate adequate funds to operate the Center, and neither they nor CCE was able to find an alternative use for the reconditioned church building. Today, the building stands practically unused.

CCE was more successful in establishing group homes for teenagers from the school and the community who came from unhealthy home situations. With funds granted by the Bureau of Child Welfare, CCE had established two

homes--one for young men and another for young women, each staffed by a full time counselor and a resident couple who assumed the role of parents. But the homes had to be spun off by the end of 1976-1977 school year and are now under the auspices of another agency.

These community services were the only components of the original plan that CCE managed to bring about, aside from Westlake High School. As late as 1975, however, some members of CCE were still reluctant to abandon the initial dream of bringing a wide range of services to the community. This wish was doomed due to CCE's inability to obtain the necessary funding, and was further hampered by internal problems. According to Sean Donegal, then project director of CCE:

> I have worked hard for three years to implement the original idea of CCE and Westlake. I have tried to bring about the Day Care Center, the Group Homes and other programs. But I now feel that people should let me know if they still want all of that to be an integral part of this project...We get things which we request and then do nothing with them...I have to do most things by myself. People in this project don't follow up. We say that we want something and when we do get it, nobody wants to take the initiative and the responsibilities. Is this going to be the pattern always? We fight for funds, but what does that really mean? Are we going to take on the responsibilities and make the decisions? And I mean we, not just me, or (Jack Horowitz) or (Harold Dixon), but the community? Should we continue with something that obviously does not work? Should we not re-direct this whole project? (Polk House Conference.)

In response to his questions, raised during the Polk House Conference in October 1975, the community representatives voted to continue with the initial proposal of offering a wide range of services to the community. The project director answered them, saying:

> That is all very nice on paper, but if it's going to be viable, we need to revise the structure that governs all the services. I don't want to get out of this conference without re-defining accountability, lines of communication, etc. We need a structure that would demand those things.

He was told that the Task Forces that would emerge from the Polk House Conference would take care of all that. But, the Task Forces never met, or dealt with those issues--and nothing was changed. (For further details on this, see Chapter IV on the Collaborative Structure.)

Funding and Utilization of Funds

From the onset of the project, CCE was aware that funding would be a major concern, and that it would determine the success or failure of the new Center. According to the "Prospectus":

> There are critical areas of (Westlake's) planning that cannot be covered, or covered fully, by the Board of Education...the (Council on Comprehensive Education), in earlier agreements with the Board, has committed itself to pursue that work and seek independent funding for it...

In accordance with that agreement, the Supporting Services Contract, which provided funding for the school, was not used to develop CCE; nor were "other contracts and grants made specifically for group homes or day care services." Rather, CCE was "supported by funds from foundation grants, individual trust funds and donations from the community and parents' groups." These were as follows:*

1970-1973

Ford Foundation	$142,605	+	$33,975
Vocational Educational Act	80,000		
New York Community Trust	20,000		
Taconic Foundation	10,000		
Hebrew Tech Institute	8,166		

*All the figures included here were taken from a letter from (Jack Horowitz) to (Jon Livingston), dated October 6, 1975, Executive Committee meetings documented on FDFs, and personal communications.

Jerome Walsh Trusts	63,000
Astor Foundation	81,700
(Cecil Stuart)	51,464

1973-1976

NIE Problem-Solving Community Model	$300,000	3 years
ESAA Desegregation Model	108,000	1 year
Action (Student Volunteer)	41,000	2 years
Ford Foundation	89,000	1 year
Greater New York Fund-College Prep Program	25,000	1 year
Fund for the City of New York	2,000	1 year
Director's Discretionary Fund [provided by (Cecil Stuart)]	30,000	3 years
(Westlake) High School Cultural Arts Program	4,207	1 year
Cultural Resource Center-Museums Collaborative	6,000	2 years*

It is evident from the above that, CCE was able to secure considerable funding from a variety of sources between 1970 and 1976. Why, then, in 1976-1977, were they unable to maintain the two programs they had established? Why, shortly after that, were they to effectively collapse. The answer to these questions lies in the interrelationships that existed between external factors and CCE itself.

The Supporting Services Contract, which provided funding for the school, was not used for the development of CCE. It was, however, extremely influential in enabling CCE to obtain other funding, by virtue of

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*These funds were also used for Westlake, the group homes, and BELC.

its affiliation with the Board of Education. As we shall see in Part II of this chapter, a large cut in the Supporting Services Contract allocation for 1976-1977 was to effectively kill CCE. But this would probably not have been possible had the corporation been able to handle its funds in the first place.

Fund utilization problems within CCE resulted from the staff's inability to coordinate with the Executive Committee. As I mentioned in Chapter I, the Executive Committee was responsible for deciding how funds would be used. But the Executive Committee, did not meet regularly; nor could members be reached or gathered together when, frequently, pressing decisions needed to be made. When they couldn't be reached, staff made the decisions. This practice, needless to say, resulted in a great deal of confusion, as reflected in the following remarks made by Joe Musante, the chairman of the Executive Committee:

> I can't be the chairman of the Committee if I don't know how much is being spent for what. Money is being spent without me or my treasurer's knowledge or authorization. I've got to know in detail, and it is not just mere curiosity! I don't want to offend anybody, but that's the way it is.

The staff took the position that the Executive Committee left a leadership vacuum in the area of day-to-day decision making. In addition, as the project director responded to Mr. Musante's remark: "We do submit periodic reports, but I'm afraid that the Executive Committee usually does not review them." He then cited examples, to which the chairman replied, "I find the financial reports confusing and unclear. The information is incomplete. I want to know how every penny was spent."

Musante's view was supported by two of the other five Executive Committee members present at the meeting. The other three were not concerned with obtaining detailed financial reports. Their reason is reflected in the following quote:

> We got professionals to handle certain kinds of affairs for us. We have to learn how to delegate responsibilities. I trust those people. I don't want to know how much was spent in detail. I'm content with generalities. All the information is in the books. We don't have to get it in document form. We can see a breakdown if we want to. I can't be a one-woman committee (referring to the Budget and Finance Committee) and we all know that people just don't come to the meetings.

This encounter between members of the staff and Executive Committee of CCE, which took place at an Executive Committee meeting on November 12, 1975, indicates that CCE was having difficulty coordinating the different arms of its structure. But this was not the only problem to plague CCE at that time. The books were also disorganized. This fact was revealed at the same Executive Committee meeting in the following dialogue involving an outside auditor, who was present, and CCE's accountant. According to the auditor:

> The financial report is a summary. I want you all to know that your accountant started from scratch. There was nothing here and now he has all his books in balance to back this report. He has to keep eleven separate books, just as he was running eleven separate businesses. That is what makes auditing this place so difficult. These books are all available for public inspection because you are a non-profit organization and that's a requirement. But, you do have a problem, though. All the funds are given to the Executive Committee, and not all responsibilities can be delegated to the project director and others. You have to know, because you may be personally liable if funds are misused.

And to the accountant:

> My assistant and I cannot do everything. A detailed report would be too much for us. Come and see our books if you are that interested. I take priorities from (Jack Horowitz) and (Sean Donegal). I cannot take them from everybody.

And, again, to the auditor:

> The records are very mixed up. All your funds are not kept in separate bank accounts as they should be. The Executive Committee has to exercise certain overseer rights and duties and it has not done so. There are restrictions on grants, deadlines, etc., which have to be respected and I'm afraid that they have not been.

Recognition of the problems surrounding the handling of funds was not to lead to effective solutions. As a result, at the end of the 1976-1977 school year, the few members of CCE's Executive Committee who were left were faced with the possibility of a legal suit relating to CCE's utilization of funds. The issue was settled out of court; the conditions of this settlement included the resignation of these individuals from the Executive Committee and the spinning off of the group homes and BELC projects.

The single CCE venture that succeeded was Westlake High School. Yet even at Westlake, a growing disaffection between the two was becoming evident by the time I began my observations in 1975. It was perhaps, partially, this growing apart that enabled Westlake to live on after the demise of CCE.

CCE and Westlake High School

Once Westlake High School had been established, CCE was intended to play an active role in the school's activities. After all, the school was to be "controlled by the community" and the community was to be represented by the community corporation. In a letter written to CCE's Executive Committee dated April 25, 1972, Howard Leibowitz was to spell out the dimensions of that role:

> The role of independent watchdog of the project has been the center of (CCE's) proposed function after the school was established. In addition to its role as money administrator for the school, (CCE) was charged with the

> task of representing the community's interest to the school administration. This task is not entirely discharged by appointing members to the operating committee. Its director should keep the committee informed of how the project is meeting the objectives set out in the proposal. In short, the project director should provide an ongoing evaluation of the school and assistance in obtaining resources from sources other than the Board of Education.

But by 1975, perhaps because the community was never to be effectively involved with CCE, and perhaps for other reasons as well, the relationships between CCE and Westlake people were distant at best. Their interactions, except among high echelon individuals, were characterized by ignorance of the others' role and, in some cases, mutual suspicion.

During the time that I observed Westlake and CCE, I found that there was little day-to-day interaction. Neither the members of CCE's Executive Committee or its project director ever came to the school to observe a class, talk to the students or teachers, or try to establish some kind of relationship with either group. They did speak frequently with the administrators, especially the project director, and helped with the financial and public relations matters. But there was no evidence of involvement or even interest in the academic and general life of the school. This helped to create a feeling of isolation in both places, and obscured the initial interdependence. I found that everyone with whom I spoke at CCE had very little first-hand experience with the school, and was content to receive his/her information from secondary sources or hearsay. This lack of interaction was to affect CCE's effectiveness in dealing with the school and the school community.

The attitude of many teachers who had been at Westlake towards CCE ranged from indifference to anger, as exemplified by what one teacher said to me:

> I sometimes dream of going in front of the Executive Committee and telling them that they have some gall in making decisions about (Westlake) when not one of them ever comes to visit, observe or do anything, for that matter. They don't know what's happening in the school, what the kids need or want, what the teachers think, and yet they are making decisions about our future.

And, in fact, at most meetings of the Executive Committee that I attended, the decisions that pertained to the school were seldom discussed with true knowledge of the facts, and the Committee ended up following the Westlake administrators' recommendations in their entirety. That is not to say that the recommendations were not in the school's best interest, but to point out that the Executive Committee was not living up to its expectations in terms of the school that it created.

By 1976, many of the new staff and students at Westlake were almost totally ignorant of CCE. When asked, few could respond to questions pertaining to the relationship between the community corporation and the school. It is interesting to note that out of ten teachers and fifteen students that were questioned, not one knew what the Operating or Executive committees were, the history of CCE and Westlake, or the meaning of the Supporting Services Contract.

This wholesale ignorance led to mutual suspicion between many of Westlake's teachers and some members of CCE's Executive Committee. For example, according to one member of the Executive Committee:

> I feel that the lack of participation and interest on the part of the students has to do with the staff and their lack of commitment to our original ideals. The Administration and the governing bodies cannot enforce these things without the staff's help.

And another:

> We have too many liberal white teachers and they bring many problems to the school, which is 90% Black and Puerto Rican.

The Supporting Services Contract

> In a joint proposal to the State Education Department dated November 1969, signed by (Erica Townes) (then CCE Chairman) and (Lester Samuels) (Deputy Superintendent for Instruction), a commitment was made to a pilot program that 'will be used for preliminary assessment' of plans...the setting for that would be a small experimental high school for students from the Manchester-Ashburn area: 150 during February-June 1971, 300 in 1971-72, 400 in 1972-73.
>
> The Board will contract with CCE for provision of supporting services related to the research project, including planning, consultants and supplementary staff, facilities, supplies, and equipment necessary to the conduct of the project. 'Supporting Services' will include all necessary support except for furnishing of licensed teachers and core instruction.

One can see from this exerpt from the "Proposal for an Experimental Secondary School" that Westlake High School was envisioned as an experimental school that was going to serve as "the testing ground for a number of educational hypotheses within a specific urban setting." The writers of the Proposal felt that:

> Until such hypotheses are tested and at least some tentative results assessed, we will not be able to proceed in as intelligent a fashion as we should in the planning of the (Brooke) complex.

The Supporting Services Contract represented a radical departure from the traditional way in which high schools in New York City had been funded and supervised. Normally the Board of Education of New York dispenses tax levied funds to high schools in two ways: (1) personnel funds and (2) OTPS (other than personnel services) funds. OTPS funds are allocated primarily for supplies, some equipment, etc., and all high schools get roughly the same amount per pupil for those items. When a high school receives its OTPS funds, the total is broken down by categories so that a certain amount goes for supplies, a certain amount for equipment and so on; the school can use

these monies only for the items indicated. While it is maintained that all high schools receive most of their funds in the above-mentioned categories, in reality the amount of equipment and supplies that other schools get under the heading of OTPS represents only a portion of what they get for such purposes. There is a variety of other categories (as many as seventeen) under which schools get equipment, the capital budget, for example. Sometimes, that amount can be far greater than the so-called OTPS allocation that they receive. Moreover, schools can convert OTPS funds to additional positions (or teaching units) if they want to.

When CCE negotiated the original Supporting Services Contract, it was agreed that they would receive: (1) the same personnel allocation as any school of comparable size, and (2) a lump sum allocation in place of the separate item-by-item budgets. The idea behind that special allocation (called Supporting Services Contract) was that the local school and community could best decide how to spend money to get educational results. This sum of money was not necessarily more than other schools got for "other expenses"; it was a different way of allocating money. It gave them flexibility in meeting their needs and in shifting money around as opportunities arose. For example, if text books were not what they needed, money could be spent on other materials. At one point, they were able to spend less than $5,000 on a contract with Mt. Sinai Hospital which resulted in $50,000 worth of free medical services for the entire student body.

Political Realities

The successful negotiation of the Supporting Services Contract, and the establishment of a pilot project to explore creation of a large, comprehensive high school, were important victories for CCE. Just how

important and political these victories had been became apparent in 1973 when the original three-year contract with the Board expired. It then became clear that the Board had abandoned the idea of building the Brooke Educational Center although the Board renewed the contract for a year. A major reason for this change was that Mayor Lindsay, Chancellor Noble and other powerful individuals who had been sympathetic to the idea of a partially independent, community controlled high school, were no longer in office. According to Sean Donegal, the director of CCE at the time:

> (The new Chancellor) renewed the Supporting Services Contract for one year in 1973 under tremendous pressure. We made a pest of ourselves and he signed it very reluctantly. He said that he did not want to be involved in this kind of thing. We had been supported by (Noble) who was a liberal. (Berber) goes by the book; he is a member of the class of '37 (the bureaucrats of long standing at the Board). (Noble) was an outsider, not a part of the '37 fraternity.

and Jack Horowitz:

> (Berber) did not want to renew the contract, but he had more pressing matters before him and we were just a minor problem at the moment. He got tired of us and didn't want to be bothered. We were the fortunate victims of benign neglect.

The problems with the Board of Education went deeper than many at CCE and Westlake were willing to recognize. The idea of using a pilot project as a testing ground in preparation for a comprehensive high school for 4,000 students, had been blessed by Noble, "who had alienated a majority at the Board of Education." In addition, the planners directed by CCE had made many changes, created contradictions and were unable to reach decisions, which led many at the Board to view the project as hopeless.

All of these--accompanied by a reduction in militancy concerning the public schools, a change in the national climate towards student demonstrations, the onset of an economic recession, along with a general

cutback in the funds available for public education--were basic factors that determined the change in attitude towards the school. Beyond that Westlake was an experiment in decentralizing high schools, and the Board of Education no longer felt the pressure or the need to experiment.

Thus, in spite of some unique features, Westlake High Shool became, in the eyes of the Board, one of a number of alternative high schools in New York City. As such, it had to deal with some key Board officials, among them Jeremy Wyatt, head of the Office of High Schools, and Samuel Hoffman, High School District Superintendent for Manhattan, neither of whom had been too friendly to the project. Twice at meetings with CCE and Westlake representatives, Mr. Hoffman mentioned "that he would never forget the fact that Noble rammed this project down his throat;" and many at Westlake and CCE believed that Mr. Wyatt was "out to get the project" on direct orders (or suggestions) from Chancellor Berber.

In any case, the problem came to a head during the summer and fall of 1975, when the Supporting Services Contract came up for renewal. It was obvious once more that the Board's bureaucracy wanted to terminate the special status of Westlake as a community-governed school, and it was also obvious that the only force that could be leveled against them was political.

Although influential, Peter Rousseau was no longer president of the Board of Education. Joshua Washington had been named in his place. Both of them had been supportive of Westlake at its inception, but had drifted from the project. Melinda Sands, a personal friend of Jack Horowitz, had been appointed to the Board, and she was considered a friend of their cause.

The political networks that had been operative during the creation of the project, were no longer helpful for a number of reasons: key people such as Erica Townes and Cecil Stuart, as well as many others, were no longer associated with the project, and the political forces had been realigned during the years. New networks had to be arranged, and they had to be based on two things: personal contacts, and the political leverage that Westlake represented as an alternative school. A successful school, in a ghetto area could, perhaps, be translated into votes. Therefore Westlake and CCE were able to obtain letters, calls and visits from the staffs of Senators Jacob Javits, James Buckley, Congressman Charles Rangel, Congressman Herman Badillo, Senator Bob Garcia, Congresswoman Bella Abzug, and Manhattan Borough President Persey B. Sutton, to the office of the Board President. The support of the Ashburn Community Corporation and Elementary School District E were also secured. The presence of Jack Horowitz, Harold Dixon and Sean Donegal was vital in this effort. It was their personal contact with several of the politicians and pressure groups that got the needed support. It must be added here, that the intervention of Shannon Dixon, a long-time activist in the I.S. A struggle, was important. He was familiar with Westlake from its inception, and had worked closely with Joshua Washington during the community control battle at I.S. A. Dixon, now the NIE project officer for the CCE-Westlake grant, was in a unique position to "put in a good word" for the renewal of the contract. And he did.

When the Supporting Services Contract was renewed, it was apparent that the political networks had been effective in pressuring Board bureaucrats into reconsidering the situation. In the words of a CCE member:

> We are not big enough for them to risk the hostility of so many big names in the political establishment.

Formal Negotiations

The Formal Objections of the Board of Education. According to Jeremy Wyatt, Head of the Office of High Schools:

> In addition to the staff units allocated to it by division formula (which is equivalent to that of other alternative high schools of similar size), (Westlake) in the past has received additional funds through a Supporting Service budget of $244,420, administered by the (Council on Comprehensive Education) (a non-profit education corporation) under contract from the Board. This amount covers non-professional staff and benefits, rent and maintenance of (St. Jerome's), instructional equipment and materials, administrative equipment and supplies, transportation, insurance, and accounting services.
>
> Because of this Supporting Services budget, (Westlake's) personnel costs are significantly higher than the other alternative schools. While staff units are scheduled at the discretion of each alternative school head, (Westlake) is the only school where the person in charge is paid as a high school principal. In 1974-1975, (Westlake) spent an estimated $136,200 of its Supporting Services budget on auxiliary teachers, field teachers, collaborative teachers, school secretaries, clerks, and office assistants. This dollar amount converts to 7.55 staff units, which added to its 1974-75 unit allotment, enabled it to have a staff unit ratio of 12.9:1 vs. 16.0:1 for the other alternative schools. In addition, the Supporting Services budget allowed $47,600 for 460 pupils for OTPS items. It is estimated that a large high school of 4,000 pupils, approximately 8.7 times the (Westlake) register would get approximately $40,000 to purchase similar items.

Mr. Wyatt's position was supported by a long memo from Don Gable to Chancellor Irving Berber on May 19, 1975. In it he stated among other things:

> Another way of comparing the two items is to say that (Westlake) is receiving approximately $70 per pupil for OTPS against $25 per pupil in a regular school.

CCE's Response. In a letter to Dr. Jon Livingston, Deputy Chancellor, Jack Horowitz stated:

> Mr. (Wyatt's) comparison of our spending on supplies and equipment with OTPS in other schools leaves out capital items that other schools get--equipment, texts, typewriters and other items. He ignores the fact that we have not received anything under modernization as a "new building"--when we should be getting about $100,000 in furniture, equipment and related items, according to the modernization plan. The only valid comparison would be with all such items another relatively new school would get.
>
> The Office of High Schools has implicitly criticized our use of Supporting Services funds for additional personnel. But at this moment, schools can convert OTPS funds to additional positions, if they wish. Obviously, this aims at permitting local schools to best determine their total use of resources...We run a single extended day session from 8:30 until 10:00 p.m., requiring fuller staff coverage. Also, our community character and collaborative structure require far more extensive contacts with parents than traditional schools and far more collaborative meetings--over 10 working subcommittees--meaning agendas, meeting preparation, minutes mailing, phone calls, coverage. Similarly, our extensive use of teacher-made materials in place of outmoded texts calls for heavy reproduction costs (personnel, equipment and supplies).

Transactions between the Two Groups. The following dialogue, excerpted from a meeting between members of CCE and members of the Board of Education on October 2, 1975 serves to further pinpoint the problems between the two groups:

Sean Donegal (CCE):

> (CCE) and (Westlake) High School are unique institutions, and they have never been evaluated as such. Their uniqueness is made possible by the Supporting Services Contract. Mr. (Wyatt) has already rejected us, not taking into account the unique context in which we operate. Our per capita cost is not really higher than any other high school.

Jon Livingston (Board):

> How much is the Supporting Services contract?

Jeremy Wyatt (Board):

$270,000.

Jon Livingston (Board):

About $500 per student?

Peter Alonza (CCE):

Not exactly. That includes the money used for rent, equipment, etc., which other schools receive separately.

Wyatt (Board):

We would pay the rent, supplies, etc., and still save $150,000 if we funded them regularly and not by the Supporting Services Contract. Also, even though (Westlake) is a very small school, all three of its administrators are being paid on a High School Principal's line. After all is said and done, (Westlake) does get $150,000 over and above any other school of its size.

Jack Horowitz (CCE):

We are not getting more money than other schools. We are a possible model for other schools and we have never been evaluated as such. We have not been dealt with fairly. We have been trying to have someone listen to us for over a year now and nobody has. Other schools have 17 possible sources of funding, such as money for buildings, capital funding for equipment, etc. The issue here is not money as much as it is an issue of who controls that money. We want community co-control, a joint venture with the Board.

Sean Donegal (CCE):

The Supporting Services Contract is a unique contract, and with due respect, very few people in the Central Board of Education understand it.

Livingston (Board):

There is no way in which we can maintain the status quo at this point, due to the budget cuts all around us.

Jack Horowitz (CCE):

We understand. The amount of money is not an issue. We'll take cuts. It's the principle of the Contract that is important.

Livingston (Board):

> As a result of the budget cuts, many things that are not really extra have become such in our eyes, and we are cutting them off. We have to establish priorities, and as of now they are classrooms and teachers. After that everything else is an extra. It is not a value judgment, it's a money judgment.

In a letter to Dr. Livingston dated October 6, 1975, Jack Horowitz says: "We (CCE) talk apples; they (Board of Education) talk oranges."

And he was correct. The core of the problem was brought to light in the following dialogue excerpted from a CCE meeting with Joshua Washington, president of the Board of Education, which took place on October 23, 1975:

Mr. Washington:

> I do not understand the problem with CCE and (Westlake). I was in the committee that voted for abolishing the idea of building the (Brooke) Educational Center, and I do not understand the current problem.

Sean Donegal:

> Very few people at the Board are familiar with (CCE) and (Westlake), and fewer still understand the project. Most members of the Board are not well-informed about the realities of (CCE) and (Westlake). (He then proceeded to explain the nature of both organizations and the initial plans that they had about building at the (Brooke) site.)

Washington:

> You people made so many changes in plans and so many changes in architects that the Board just got sick and tired of dealing with that. So when the (Uptown) School of Music became available, they approved the idea of it housing (Westlake) High School and decided to kill the original idea of building.

Sean Donegal:

> That is not the issue now; what is at stake is the very essence of the project. (He then explains the meaning of the Supporting Services Contract and the advantages that having it brought to the school.

Washington:

I feel that we understand the agreement in two different ways. I always felt that the Supporting Services Contract was given to (CCE) in order that they begin something, with the understanding that it would come to an end. The Supporting Services Contract was given so that (CCE) could develop, create and evaluate something, not as a budget for a school.

Jack Horowitz:

There is an honest discrepancy. During the first three years of the project, the Supporting Services Contract was just what you described, but after that initial period was over, there was an annual agreement, renewal, and at that point the Supporting Services Contract became the school budget. Moreover the initial agreement stipulated that we would be evaluated thoroughly at the end of the initial three years by the Board. But the Board never did a comprehensive evaluation on us. The only evaluation that was conducted was one directed by (Tad Michaels), and since it was favorable to us, Mr. (Berber) has never released it. The Supporting Services Contract has been renewed without evaluation for two years, but this year it has been denied. The Office of High Schools is equating the Suporting Services Contract with OTPS and is thus arguing that (Westlake) is receiving more money than other schools.

Washington:

But the Supporting Services Contract is not the same as OTPS!

Horowitz:

That's right! We are willing to accept all the cutbacks that you deem necessary, but we want to keep the freedom and the community control that the contract gives to us. (He then proceeded to tell (Washington) about Mr. (Gable's) memo to Mr. (Berber), about Mr. (Wyatt's) letter and about the meeting with Mr. (Livingston) on October 1, 1975.)

Washington:

Are you sure that they understand that (CCE) does not get funded through the Supporting Services Contract; in other words, that all the money goes to the school? All that I've heard is that they are tired of funding a community corporation to do what they themselves can do!

Horowitz:

(Wyatt) knows that. He understands it.

Washington:

Are you considered an alternative school?

Horowitz:

Yes, now we are, although we never intended to be one.

Washington:

We had decided not to give special treatment or funds to any school or any advisory group within a school. This is obviously not the case here, and there is a gross misunderstanding. We should call a meeting to try to see if we all are talking the same language and understand the same things. You have solved the problem for me--I did not really understand the basic question. I still think that we are all talking about different things sometimes and get confused.

Donegal:

(Wyatt) calls the Supporting Services Contract a supplementary budget, and it is not!

Washington:

I'll have a serious meeting with them. I understand that you are concerned with the agreement continuing, with preserving a principle. I know that you don't want more money, but you want to keep community control and community input in the school. I agree with that principle wholeheartedly. You don't want the Office of High Schools to make all your decisions? Right?

I'll see everybody together and deal with the ones who may possibly want to sabotage your contract by spreading false ideas, okay? All this has many political implications and I'm sure that you know that. (Jeremy Wyatt) and (Sam Hoffman) have their own problems. But I'll asssume that there is good faith and a misunderstanding here, until the opposite is proven to me. We'll work that way.

After this meeting with Mr. Washington, the Supporting Services Contract was reinstated, although it amounted to less than one-half the money they had been receiving.

The Supporting Services Contract Crisis of 1975

To better understand this crisis, it is necessary to refer to both Mr. Wyatt's and Mr. Gable's letters, dated May 16, 1975 and August 26, 1975, respectively, and Mr. Horowitz's answer, dated October 6, 1975.

Both Mr. Gable and Mr. Wyatt equated the Supporting Services Contract with OTPS, and as a result, it looked as if Westlake would be getting twice the amount that any other high school got for equipment and supplies. According to Horowitz, Westlake never received any equipment at all from the Board of Education when it began its operations (something that the Board does for every new school), and they had to obtain every piece of equipment from Supporting Services money.

It is hard to believe that neither Mr. Wyatt nor Mr. Gable were aware of the budget categories and their meaning to the overall operation of a school. But supposing that Mr. Wyatt and Mr. Gable were right, and Westlake was indeed getting more money than other high schools of similar size, there are other valid objections that could be made to their comparison. First of all, Westlake had maintained all along that it was not an alternative school, but an experimental one, as explicitly stated in their original proposal, approved and blessed by the Board of Education. It made little sense to compare the needs and expenditures of Westlake to those of any other high school of similar size in the city, be it alternative or regular, since its experimental status would preclude such a comparison. The only way in which it could be established that Westlake was doing what it set out to do in its original proposal, and therefore utilizing its financial resources in an effective way, would be to thoroughly evaluate the educational results and the processes of its unique structure. And such an evaluation has not been made.

Another key aspect of the problem, seldom mentioned by the Board of Education, is the fact that the existence of the Supporting Services Contract and with it of community control over the resources, allowed CCE and Westlake to generate massive income from private and public sources. This income enriched the overall program and services of the school. According to Jack Horowitz:

> The (CCE) tie has raised over $600,000 in additional funds in the current two year period (plus experimental stages). This funding is directly related to the community structure, as (CCE) offers a conduit not available to the average school, and a stable and reliable management source to outside agencies. The funds include $300,000 from the NIE; $89,000 from the Ford Foundation for evaluation (not the original seed grant); $50,000 from Action, the National Volunteer program; $108,000 from ESAA for desegregation activities; about $25,000 in small grants from Museums Collaborative, Inc.; $25,000 for our first summer college prep program. In addition, because of its unique role as a comprehensive education center, (CCE) is getting over $250,000 to run a network of group homes for students who lack a viable home situation, and about $500,000 in construction funds for an Early Learning Center.
>
> ***
>
> The fact is that the clout given to this community through this contract has directly contributed to the results we've cited.

Apparently, then, the problems surrounding the Supporting Services Contract in 1975 were more politically than economically motivated. It was not the resources themselves, but control over them and power over the school which concerned the Board. The Board of Education in 1975 held a radically different orientation from that of 1971 when the contract was first put into effect. In 1971, it was made up of people like Martin Noble, who were sympathetic to the principle of community control. In 1975, on the other hand, the powers at the Board were members of the old bureaucracy who saw centralization as being essential to the educational process. Consequently, political pressure was the only avenue open to CCE in their

efforts to maintain the Supporting Services Contract and a concomitant measure of freedom. They succeeded by mobilizing political networks which put pressure on the Board and were ultimately responsible for the meeting with Joshua Washington. Because of this meeting, the Supporting Services Contract was renewed for another year, but the victory was an empty one for CCE. The new contract entitled CCE to funds that were less than one fourth of what they had been awarded in previous years. This cut was so drastic that it crippled CCE to the point that it could no longer function.*

By June 1976, CCE had to let go most of its staff because of lack of funds. It was unable to renew the ESAA grant, it had lost the Director's Discretionary Fund, and the NIE Grant was drawing to a close. The project director's efforts to secure new funding were fruitless, and he decided to resign. He made his decision known to the Executive Committee, and an emergency meeting was called to deal with the crisis: only three people attended it. More and more of those who had been with the project all along began to feel that it had become an exercise in futility. Paolo Luchesi and others finally dropped out. The School Administration and the teachers who have beeen at Westlake for a long time felt that it would be interesting if CCE were to be revived, but they were not willing to give enough of their time and energy to do so. As I write, CCE is only a paper agency, remaining only to satisfy legal funding commitments. Its present director, Jimmy Carson, who is also the coordinator of Westlake's adult program, has tried to reorganize the community corporation with the help of Jack Horowitz, but

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*The cut was not solely responsible for the demise of CCE as they were suffering a great deal of internal upheaval and disorganization as described in the first part of this chapter. But the contract cut indicated that CCE no longer had the full support of the Board of Education, a factor which had been fundamental in lending them legitimacy in the eyes of other funding agencies. This loss of legitimacy, coupled with their internal problems was to prove their undoing.

has met with little or no response from either parents or community members. It seems safe to predict, at this point, that there is little probability of a comeback for CCE. Meanwhile--the school lives.

Westlake High School and the Board of Education--Post-CCE

Since the effective demise of CCE, tensions have eased considerably between Westlake High School and the Board of Education. This is primarily because community control is no longer at issue; there is no longer a community corporation to effect community input in the school.

Mr. Wyatt has left Westlake in Mr. Hoffman's hands and Mr. Hoffman seems eager to establish a whole new set of interrelationships with the school. He speaks of "normalization" for Westlake sometime in the future, i.e., becoming a "Board school".

With the virtual disappearance of CCE, Westlake people are more concerned with accomodation and survival with the Board than autonomy and confrontation. Relationships with people at all levels of the bureaucracy have improved considerably and the political skill of the administration is demonstrated by their ability to obtain more from the Board than it is strictly entitled to. The administration also has demonstrated a capacity to deal with rules and regulations so as to obtain the maximum benefit for students and staff with little discomfort or delay. Political networks are still important and are cultivated, but the atmosphere is entirely different. It seems that at long last, history has caught up with Westlake and the reforming zeal of the 1960s has given way to the more pragmatic, compromising attitude of the 1970s. No longer does anyone ask, "Who controls the school?" but rather, "How are we going to offer a better education to these youngsters?"

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters I have tried to describe some of the key features of the CCE-Westlake project. I have tried to point out, that while the strategy for problem-solving that was funded by the NIE grant was not successful and ultimately collapsed, some other very interesting things happened--particularly in the school. Thus, the CCE-Westlake story is not the story of a failure; nor is it the story of a total success. It is, rather, the story of a community corporation that established a school which was to develop an interesting, sometimes unique, educational alternative for inner city youngsters. In the face of some drastic changes, the community corporation was to fail; the school was to live on. The key to both the failure and the success of the CCE-Westlake venture was found in the ability and inability of the individuals involved to adapt their creations to changing circumstances.

As has been previously pointed out, CCE and Westlake were created with the assumption that collaboration was an essential ingredient of quality education. The founders of the project saw collaboration occurring at all levels of decision-making, and also, a wide variety of people participating in the collaborative process. A strategy that was created to accomodate a small number of active, dedicated and predominantly middle class English-speaking students and parents, and volunteer teachers in the spring and summer of 1971, was expected to accommodate, not only larger numbers of people in the years that followed, but also a wider range of people. This group was to include Spanish dominant parents who did not understand English, working parents who could not attend daytime meetings, Board

appointed teachers who did not necessarily share the educational philosophies of the founders, etc. Roles for these people had not been anticipated to begin with; but anticipated or not, the structure was never altered to accomodate to their needs.

The inability to adapt the structure to the new reality proved to be the undoing of the strategy, perhaps because its scope was too wide and too demanding. As was documented in Chapter IV, it was not a lack of awareness or self-criticism that prevented the adaptation but, rather, a commitment to the old forms. In Chapter V, we saw that this same rigidity was to create problems for the relationships between CCE staff and Executive Committee members and between CCE and Westlake people. The groups could not get together to resolve their day-to-day difficulties, let alone to change the structure that was impeding them. Consequently, when faced with the external pressures from the Board of Education, they were too weak to hold up. CCE's last gasp was to save Westlake, but it was not strong enough to save CCE.

Westlake, on the other hand, managed to survive the challenge of change. This probably would not have been the case had they remained more closely tied to CCE; but by 1975-1976 it was evident that they had grown legs of their own. Paradoxically, the problems that had developed between Westlake and CCE probably contributed to Westlake's growing independence and ultimate ability to survive despite what happened to its parent. It survived because it was able to make the adaptation from being a pilot experimental project to being an alternative school; from expecting to inform change on a grand scale to being a place for contained change. It survived changes in size, location, administration, funding, staffing patterns, etc.,

while managing to maintain a viable, interesting, responsive program for its students. Even during the worst crises, it managed to maintain a measure of collaboration among its own internal community--staff, students and administrators.

The adaptation of Westlake was not based merely on total compliance with the Board of Education. (That kind of compliance would not have been significant since it is a modus vivendi for most city schools.) Instead, it managed, through careful negotiation, some stubbornness and an ability to maintain a precarious equilibrium, to create for itself enough space and freedom to be able to do unique things in the face of severe cutbacks. The fact that it has managed to write its own curricula to satisfy the needs of its students is but one example; the creation of the Transition Orientation Workshop, the RISK program and the intensive staff training as well as the advisor system are others.

Perhaps the most unique quality of Westlake High School is a certain intangible feeling that characterizes the school, and which teachers and students frequently allude to. This quality, whether called caring, hope, friendliness, or simply a good learning environment, is probably derived from the initial attitude that gave birth to the school; but it is also something that has been nurtured through the years. While it is difficult to determine how this intangible quality could be replicated in other environments, the essence of it seems to be the belief that learning is an innate instinct in all human beings, and that the task of the educator is to foster and not impede that innate potential. Maybe the secret of Westlake rests in the collective belief that students can learn no matter what the situation is at any given moment.

Both CCE and Westlake were born out of the political ferment of the 1960s in New York City. It was a time when people believed that community control of schools was the cure for all the systemic illnesses of the educational process. It was a profoundly interesting involvement since it sought to change an entire social system through a change in one of the most vulnerable of institutions--the school. Yet, in our society, total community control is a contradiction to the democratic system. The school, as a governmental agency in charge of socialization, has to convert all kinds of youngsters who have different racial and ethnic backgrounds into an entity called "an American". Community control of schools would mean abandoning the dream of the "melting pot" society and replacing it with one in which a conglomerate of different ethnicities would merely tolerate each other.* Also, it has never been proven that community control makes better schools. Yet, the argument need not go that far. Community input into education can, and has (as in Westlake) improved the school. The secret lies in arriving at a formula that maintains a balance between the needs of the community and the needs of society. CCE and Westlake tried to find that balance, and in the search, discovered the vital importance of political networks to insure survival. The political struggles were indicative of the very tenuous relationship between education and politics. It is not enough to have a fine educational program; one has to have good friends in high places who are willing to help in the face of opposition.

Finally, the ultimate demise of CCE should perhaps be viewed, not as a total failure, but merely as the passing away of an agency that outlived its purpose.

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*This is not to say that the melting pot idea has ever been a reality, but it is still held as an ideal in some "official" literature, especially in Education.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Methodological Reflections

Appendix B: Some Materials Used for the TOW

Appendix C: Pupil Personnel Services Committee Materials

- Interviewers' Manual
- Test for New Students
- Contract for Incoming Students

Appendix D: Staff Training Materials: Classroom Management

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

I walked into Westlake High School for the first time on May 21, 1975. I was supposed to meet with Irene Lord, the director, and then go to a staff meeting and training session. Ms. Lord took me on a tour of the school, and I remember feeling lost and very disoriented. The place seemed like a gigantic maze, and I was sure that if left to my own devices, I could never find the way back to the front door. We met several people along the way, all of whom looked very friendly and very busy, and we ended up in the fifth floor cafeteria, where the staff was waiting. After the staff meeting ended, I left the building, escorted to make sure I didn't get lost, and walked two blocks along 106th Street to Broadway to catch the downtown bus. It was warm, and it seemed as if the whole neighborhood had emptied into the sidewalks. There were men in undershirts, playing cards and dominoes to the sound of loud radios. Teenagers were dancing, kids were playing, women were laughing and talking to each other, and garbage and dogs were everywhere. I felt good about my first visit to Westlake. People had been warm and friendly, and didn't seem threatened or bothered by a strange face in their midst. I did not think I would have any entry problems.

The next day I went to CCE's office on 107th Street. Going there was like plunging into a dark, strange dungeon, since the offices are located in the basement of St. Jerome's Church. Once inside, however, the same friendly attitude I had experienced at Westlake greeted me, and again I was reassured about having no entry problems.

I spent the rest of May and the beginning of June at both Westlake and CCE. On June 7, community people and staff met for a weekend retreat at Lake Pocahontas, upstate. This retreat was crucial for the entry process, since it was there that I became accepted by the various constituencies

who made up the project. The group was having problems in translating the contents of the meetings from English into Spanish, and in conveying the feelings of the Hispanic parents and students to the English-speaking participants. An observer without bias, I became the ad hoc simultaneous translator of the conference, the conduit of communications.

After the Pocahontas Conference, I went to Westlake almost every day until the school year ended, trying to acquaint myself with both teachers and students. I attended all sorts of meetings and also tried to engage people in informal conversations. Everyone was open and willing to talk. The summer came too soon, and I was afraid that it would disrupt the relationships I had begun to establish in the school. But when September came, I found out that everyone was willing to start right where we had left off. I did spend two or three days a week at CCE during July, and the CCE staff was invaluable in helping me to understand the people and the processes of the whole project.

From September 1975 to April 1976, I went into the school at least three days a week, sometimes more, and attended many evening meetings. I spent my time as a non-participant observer, going into classrooms, meetings and gatherings with total acceptance on the part of those who were engaged in them. I took notes as I observed, which I later transcribed. I also did some formal interviewing for specific information or data clarification, but I found that the wealth of data, insights and real understanding came from informal conversations--and I had many hours of that every week. At the end of April 1976, I underwent surgery and was unable to take notes. I decided that the only procedure then left for me was that of total immersion, and from May 1976 to the end of June 1976, I spent all day every weekday at

Westlake and/or CCE. This proved to be of great value, since it was then that I truly became part of the scenery and was able to see and interact with most everyone at every level.

While it was not hard to obtain information about Westlake and CCE, about their daily routines, meetings, crises and problems, trying to obtain the historical background and data was a different matter. Very little had been actually documented, and since many, if not most of the original planners and actors of the project had left, I was faced with still another problem: those who had participated from the very beginning had a definite idea of what had happened, but were not always accurate as to dates or the order of events. They also differed with each other as to the importance of a given actor or event. It was as if the intensity of the experience had prevented them from accurately recording what had happened; in less than ten years from the actual beginning of the process, myth had begun to veil reality. Many times I had the feeling that I was doing archaeology and ethnohistory, finding my own clues among the remnants of the by-gone culture and going back to its survivors for clarification and verification. It was a long process, but since it was vital for the understanding of the project, it had to be done.

One cannot expect to spend one and a half years in a school and not become attached to it in some ways. I was a non-participant observer at Westlake, but not a totally dispassionate one. I came to love Westlake and many of its people. I learned to admire the courage, the tenacity and the dedication of many of the staff members and the joy, intelligence and wit of many students. I suffered with their crises, lost sleep over some of their problems, and towards the end, found it increasingly hard to be a

non-participant in the events around me. I had to constantly remind myself of the fact that I had come to describe a reality, not to change it. In writing this case study, I tried to be as impartial as I could; I hope I succeeded in presenting the many sides of the issues and a clear, true picture of the project.

A problem also arises when one is observing something which, on the whole, is compatible with one's political, educational and world-views. That basic compatibility can veil some things and color others. I tried to be objective and unprejudiced about Westlake and CCP, but it was impossible to do away completely with the feeling of congeniality that this project evoked in me. I tried to point out the problems and shortcomings as I saw them, but I also tried to convey the project's basic worthiness.

And last, but not least, my own theoretical biases: It would be fradulent to pretend that I came to this study with a clean slate. I did not. I have a background in Anthropology (of the critical-radical variety) and it must have influenced the analysis I made of what I saw. I'd like to think that it was the data itself that brought about the kind of analysis I used; in other words, my theoretical framework and the data helped and supported each other, allowing truth to emerge. I believe that that is what happened. If I failed, I hope that I have provided enough information for the reader to be able to do his own analysis.

APPENDIX B: Some Materials Used for the TOW

February 5, 1975

(Rolling Meadows, Liberty Plains)

Goals we want to reach:

1) Communication skills
2) Team Building
3) Feedback
4) Self-Evaluation

Suggestions for sessions:

1) Monument
2) Telegram
3) Name Tag
4) Who am I?
5) Roll Newspaper

S C H E D U L E

7:00 - 9:00	TRAVELING TO (ROLLING MEADOWS)
9:30 - 11:30	FIRST SESSION
11:35 - 12:35	LUNCH
12:40 - 1:00	RECREATION
1:00 - 3:00	SECOND SESSION
3:00 - 4:30	RECREATION
4:30 - 5:00	SET UP FOR DINNER
5:00 - 6:00	DINNER
6:00	LEAVE FOR (WESTLAKE)

TRANSITION ORIENTATION WORKSHOP

Evaluation Questionnaire

YES NO

1. Do you think that the goals of (Westlake) reflect your own goals?

2. Do you think that you now know how controversial issues get handled and decided at (Westlake)?

3. Do you have a clearer idea of what courses you want to take while you are at (Westlake)?

4. Do you know who to go to for a personal or health problem other than your advisor?

5. Do you now think you can find your way around the school?

6. Have you been made to feel a part of (Westlake)?

7. Have you gotten to know at least three teachers since TOW began?

8. On the bus trip did you see any part of the city you had never seen before?

9. Did TOW provide enough time with your advisor?

10. Have you read the student handbook?

11. Do you still feel new and confused and strange?

12. Would you like to be a PPS student?

13. Check one of the following:
_____a. There was too much testing during the TOW period.
_____b. I can see the reasons for all the testing.

14. How many fellow students do you think you've gotten to know?
Circle one of the below:
0-5 5-10 10-20 20+

15. Rate yourself as to your participation in the workshops, attendance, promptness.

1	2	3	4	5
terrible				terrific

16. If you were running the TOW program, what would you do/change? Write your suggestions below.

APPENDIX C: PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICE COMMITTEE

- Interviewers' Manual
- Test for New Students
- Contract for Incoming Students

(WESTLAKE) HIGH SCHOOL

INTERVIEWERS' HANDBOOK

MAY 1974

PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES

COMMITTEE

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THE MATERIAL IN THIS HANDBOOK HAS BEEN DEVELOPED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PUPIL PRESONNEL SERVICES COMMITTEE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL. THE STUDENTS AND STAFF LISTED BELOW WERE INVOLVED IN AN INTENSE TRAINING PROGRAM TO DEVELOP SKILLS IN INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUES:

STAFF

STUDENTS

CRITERIA FOR A REWARDING INTERVIEW

1. The interviewer and the interviewee should feel that the interview has been a positive and helpful experience.

2. There should be a relaxed atmosphere.
   a) refreshments possibly
   b) comfortable surroundings

3. The interview should be co-ed.

4. There should be good verbal interaction and communication.

5. Well planned questions should be asked.

6. There should be a focus.

7. There should be an atmosphere of respect.

8. There should be time to evaluate the interviewees.

9. There should be time for feedback between the interviewers.

10. The interview should be one that develops honesty and trust during the questioning period.

11. Interviewers should be able to detect a good rap from an empty rap.

12. The interview should be a learning experience.

CRITERIA FOR A GOOD INTERVIEWER

1. He/She is friendly.
2. He/She can cope with unique human differences.
3. He/She is cooperative.
4. He/She is prepared with information and questions.
5. He/She has acquired skills in listening and questioning.
6. He/She is open-minded and fair.

FORMAT OF THE INTERVIEW

STEP #1

A group of 3 students will be brought into the interviewing session. Each interviewer (there are 3) will speak with one of the interviewees for 5 minutes. The overall purpose of this will be to welcome the student and set him/her at ease.

STEP #2

The interviewers and the interviewees will form a large group. A question and answer period occurs for 10-15 minutes. (See questions.) This part of the interview will be taped with the knowledge of the interviewees.

STEP #3

An evaluation of the interviewees will occur. All comments will be listed on a rating form. (5 minutes)

STEP #4

Feedback will be given to the interviewers by an objective observer.

RECAP: ELEMENTS OF THE INTERVIEW

	PROCESS	TIME
1.		
	a. one interviewer welcomes one interviewee	5 minutes
	b. a large group is formed	10-15 minutes
	c. interviewees are evaluated	5 minutes
	d. interviewers are given feedback	5 minutes
2.	Maximum interview time will be 30 minutes.	
3.	All interviews will be taped.	
4.	An objective observer will give feedback to interviewers.	
5.	A rotating focus interviewer will rotate during the day-long sessions.	
6.	A rating form will be filled out by each interviewer.	

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why do you want to come to (Westlake)?

2. Have you had any trouble or problems in your previous school? If so please explain.

3. Can you deal with freedom in an alternative school? What have you done that demonstrates you can make decisions for yourself?

4. Describe the kind of person that you are.

5. In what ways can you/have you demonstrated a sense of responsibility?

6. What have you heard about (Westlake)? Who told you?

7. What can you contribute to (Westlake)?

8. How have you demonstrated maturity in your life?

9. What do you consider a good reason for cutting class?

10. Do you have any questions to ask us?

OTHER QUESTIONS

(Write down any questions which you feel might be valuable that have not been listed above.)

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

SITUATIONAL QUESTIONS - the following are situations which will help to understand the values students have relating to situations they face in the school environment.

1. You are sitting in a class and all of a sudden a girl begins to punch a boy sitting next to her.

2. Your best friend is in the lounge every day and cuts class 50% of the time.

3. A new friend comes up to you and asks you whether you'd like to smoke pot in the bathroom.

4. You are walking down the hall and you overhear a boy talking about how he hates white kids. A white student passes by this student, and he starts shouting curses at the white student.

5. You dislike a teacher in your math class. You think that teacher is treating you unfairly and will probably fail you.

6. You are playing in the gym instead of attending your social studies class. Your teacher walks by and confronts you.

7. A friend comes and tells you he has stolen a tape recorder from the reading lab.

8. Your best friend tells you she is pregnant. She is afraid to tell her parents.

9. You have been assigned an advisor who you simply can't get along with.

10. In your Humanistic Ed class a student confronts you and tells you that you are a "bullshit artist".

QUALITIES OF THE (WESTLAKE) STUDENT

Listed below are the qualities/characteristics that students feel (Westlake) students should strive to have in order to function successfully in our experimental environment.

1. RESPONSIBILITY
2. TENACITY
3. SELF-CONTROL
4. ABILITY TO CHANGE
5. HONESTY
6. MATURITY
7. WILLINGNESS TO INVOLVE SELF
8. UNDERSTANDING
9. INDEPENDENCE
10. SELF-AWARENESS

INDICATORS OF POSITIVE QUALITIES

1. How one feels about one's self
2. How one talks about others
3. The effort one puts into trying to communicate personal views
4. The manner in which one responds to questions
5. Being on time
6. Displaying interest in others by listening attentively
7. Initiating questions about (Westlake)

INTERVIEW RATING SHEET

INTERVIEWEE _____ INTERVIEWER _____
DATE MAY 24, 1974

DIRECTIONS: CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES THE INTERVIEWEE IN EACH CATEGORY. (1 is the highest and 3 the lowest)

1.	COOPERATIVE/WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERVIEW	1 2 3
2.	ATTENTIVE DURING INTERVIEW	1 2 3
3.	RESPONSIVE TO GROUP DISCUSSION	1 2 3
4.	RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT (WESTLAKE)	1 2 3
5.	STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS OF ANSWERS	1 2 3
6.	WILLINGNESS TO GET INVOLVED IN (WESTLAKE)	1 2 3
7.	SELF-DIRECTED	1 2 3

TOTAL SCORE _____

COMMENTS: _____

_____

_____

WOULD I ACCEPT THIS STUDENT AT (WESTLAKE)? (circle one)

very likely maybe not at all

INFORMATION TEST

TRUE (T) or FALSE (F) NAME _____

1. _____ The school year at (Westlake) consists of eight (4 wks. each cycles.

2. _____ The school day starts at 8:30 a.m., and all students must report then.

3. _____ One of the objectives of (Westlake) is to give every student an experience in the world of work.

4. _____ (Westlake) is a place to experiment.

5. _____ The advisor period is used primarily for college guidance.

6. _____ Decisions about educational policies and practices are made by parents, teachers and students.

7. _____ A (Westlake) student must take care of him or herself--others come second.

8. _____ Phase II courses include all basic skills courses necessary to enter Phase III.

9. _____ In general, 1 credit = 1 year's work.

10. _____ Not only do teachers evaluate students, but students evaluate teachers.

11. _____ Attendance and punctuality are responsibilities of the students and their parents.

12. _____ Smoking and eating are permitted in lounges, bathrooms, and hallways.

13. _____ The sale or use of drugs at (Westlake) could result in arrest.

14. _____ (CCE) means (Curriculum Committee in Education).

15. _____ The major policy and decision-making body at (Westlake) is the Rep. Council.

16. _____ Only students and staff can be committee members.

17. _____ Guests are always welcome at (Westlake).

18. _____ Rep. Council has two sub-committees.

19. _____ Any committee should go to Rep. Council for advice.

20. _____ Any new course must be approved by the curriculum committee.

21. _____ (BEC) means (Brooke) Education Center.

22. _____ 1 communications credit per cycle is required for graduation.

23. _____ Individual and group counseling is available to all students.

24. _____ (Westlake) has a swimming pool.

25. _____ Students at (Westlake) are allowed to do what they want.

CONTRACT FOR INCOMING STUDENTS

(WESTLAKE) HIGH SCHOOL
September 1974

I, _____, understand that I must fulfill the following requirements in order to be accepted as a student in good standing at (Westlake) High School. If I fail to meet any or all of these requirements I understand that I will be placed on probation until January, when a final decision will be made about my acceptance at (Westlake).

Requirements:

I will be present and on time for all sessions of the orientation workshop.

I will be present and on time for all pre-testing sessions: science, social studies, math, writing, and health education.

I will submit a permisssion slip for each field trip: the bus trip around Manhattan on Wednesday, September 11, and the evaluation session on Thursday, September 19.

I will try to participate in this orientation with a spirit of cooperation and concern for others in the (Westlake) Community.

I will read carefully the student handbook and try to live up to the code of behavior expected of (Westlake) students (pp. 3-5).

Signed,

_____
(student's signature)

_____
(date)

I have read the above contract and agree to permit my son/daughter to participate in the (Westlake) High School orientation workshops.

_____
(parent's signature)

_____
(date)

APPENDIX D: Staff Training Materials: Classroom Management

WHAT DO I DO WHEN THE CLASS
APPLAUDS THE DISRUPTIVE
BEHAVIOR OF ONE OF MY STUDENTS?

WHAT DO I DO WHEN
MY CLASS IMITATES ME?

HOW CAN I GET MY STUDENTS TO
RESPOND ONE AT A TIME?

FOOTNOTE NO. 3 From: (Laura Spivak)

What follows is a series of excerpts from Classroom Management by Lois V. Bohnson and Mary A. Bany, published by Macmillan. Hopefully some of the material might prove helpful at the conference.

p. 11

Management activities are concerned with integrating the group, and with creating conditions so that individual children perceive that they can meet their own needs best by cooperating and directing their efforts toward task completion. It is the process of handling those problems that affect instruction by using processes that increase group unity and cooperation, and in addition, strengthen each student's feelings of dignity, worth, and satisfaction with classroom conditions.

p. 13

Beginning teachers indicate that their greatest doubts are about ability to manage, control, or handle disciplinary problems.

p. 17

Perceived behavior is any given individual's way of looking at reality. Actual behavior is what a number of reliable observers say actually occurred. All individuals see the world the way they presume it is. How classroom management is perceived is determined to a large degree by names and labels attached to groupings of children and to individuals. These names and labels determine and fix the way teachers look at students and the classes they teach.

p. 18

The method of labeling, classifying, and speaking about the individuals in the class and the class group itself not only prescribes how the total teaching situation will be viewed; it actually will determine how teachers will act, and the nature of the practices they will employ.

p. 19

Children labeled as problems may not be problems at all but rather assisting the group to adapt to pressure and frustration. They may be performing a management function needed by the class organization which is not provided by the teacher. These youngsters may be performing an informal leadership function to ease the situation.

p. 23

The idea that all children wish to belong to their classroom group, and to be accepted by members is incorrect. Children only desire to belong to groups that are in some way attractive. If a group is "low", if members are perceived collectively as "dumb", there is little desire to belong or to be accepted even though some of the children may have strong friendship ties will fellow members.

p. 32

Instructional success depends on how strongly human organization is satisfied in the classroom. This means developing a classroom system that responds to human needs. It also means that teachers must be taught to predict and control behavior.

p. 42

Control is a form of influence which permits learners to achieve their goals and associated feelings of satisfaction.

p. 45

Outward manifestations of management problems are: children talk at inappropriate times, they delay work processes, engage in disputes and conflicts, react with indifference and lack of interest, and fail to follow prescribed procedures. They quarrel, fight, resist, protest, and fail to cooperate.

p. 64

The distinguishing characteristics which fall into the facilitative category of classroom management are these:

1. Achieving cooperation and unity of effort
2. Establishing standards and coordinating work procedures
3. Improving conditions in the system by using problem solving
4. Modifying or changing conditions in the classroom system

p. 72

The overall objective of classroom management is to create within the classroom organization a state of affairs which facilitates the accomplishment of educational goals.

p. 102

Communication in class groups is both verbal and non-verbal. The type of communication pattern employed in a class group determines the amount, frequency, duration, direction, and content of the communication. Failure to provide for adequate communication can produce tension, frustration, and problem behavior, whereas good communication among group members can reduce tension and frustration. Inadequate and limited communication and lack of feedback explain why some teachers cannot effectively reach their students and therefore do not establish productive working conditions.

p. 105

A group, when placed under pressure or when frustrated, will often disply feelings of hostility which it will direct toward an unpopular member or toward a subgroup. Scapegoating and applauding the antics of a clown are examples of repressed hostility. Groups that fear hostility expression sometimes incite one member to rebel openly.

p. 109

The use of force or pressure may control behavior but it does not have a permanent effect.

p. 111

Poor communication between the teacher and the students may act as a strong force in preventing changes in group behavior. When change is desired, the way that the teacher presents the problem often determines whether the group will perceive the need for change or whether it will resist change.

p. 113

Teachers who attempt to control group behavior by changing the behavior of a popular member, and who believe that this member will then influence the group and cause it to change, are using a method which is totally ineffective.

p. 140

A cohesive class has: solidarity, loyalty, morale, satisfaction, and atmosphere.

p. 141

Two basic assumptions in educational theory related to group unity are:

1. A cohesive or a closely knit group is dependent upon the mutual liking of children for one another.
2. Unity stems from a sense of belonging.

p. 144

The amount of verbal interaction that takes place among group members affects members' liking for one another. If communication about problems affecting the group is encouraged, the interaction induces a positive feeling on the part of members toward the group. This positive feeling pertains to individuals in the group and to the group as a whole.

p. 179

A set of standards is not a list of prescribed ways of behaving which are punishable if not followed. Rather, they are statements suggesting desirable ways of behaving and which students work toward achieving. They should help students anticipate, understand, and accept the expected and most desirable ways of acting and reacting in the school situation.

p. 190

Every teacher approaches a management task with certain conscious or unconscious assumptions. These assumptions pertain to:

1. The nature of the class as a whole (whether the class is viewed as a good

class, or is difficult, and so forth).
2. The nature of the management task (whether the situation is viewed as a discipline problem or as a condition requiring facilitative action).
3. The reasons for the trouble in the group (there are one or more difficult individuals or group energy is misdirected).
4. The management practices which will lead to the amelioration of the situation.

p. 206

The establishment of guidelines or standards for behavior involves three steps:

1. Helping the group establish behavioral guidelines.
2. Assisting the group to check its conduct against the guidelines and revise its performance.
3. Supporting the group when a few members deviate from guidelines or plans.

p. 222

The major goal of classroom management is to develop and promote satisfying, healty conditions in the classroom system and to keep the system functioning smoothly.

p. 232

Conducting problem solving sesesions the process is as follows:

1. Defining and limiting the problem question
2. Analyzing and evaluating the problem
3. Establishing the criteria or standards by which the solutions will be judged acceptable or unacceptable
4. Examining the consequences of each available solution.
5. Selecting the preferred solution or solutions
6. Putting the preferred solution into effect

p. 244-5

To aid teachers in developing the skills necessary for handling situations in which class groups cannot reach agreements during the problem solving process, the following procedures may be used:

1. List the points of agreement
2. Summarize points of disagreement
3. Clarify points of view
4. Ask for agreement on several points or plans of action
5. Present as a new problem the failure to agree
6. Withdraw the problem until the group wishes to reinstate it

p. 332

Maintaining morale requires that teachers expend energy and time to make the group environment one where:

1. The classroom members have some say about workday conditions
2. The members are not expected in every situation to be passive, dependent and completely subordinate
3. The members are able to maintain a sense of personal dignity because they are given opportunities to make decisions
4. The members receive psychological rewards because they perceive that the group itself is a good group, and because the working conditions are attractive and satisfying

WORKSHOP II APPROACHES TO CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

ACTIVITY: THE INJUNCTION BOX

FACILITATORS: JOE, LOURDES, CECIL

MATERIALS:
1) pink and green index cards stapled back to back
2) pencils
3) cardboard box
4) injunction handout from TA

FOCUS:
A. To identify how we teach differently or the same from the way we were taught in secondary and elementary school.
B. To explore our own injunctions as people and teachers.
C. To explore the components of classroom management

PROCESS:
1) The facilitator gives a lecturette of 5 minutes on the nature of injunctions in our lives and how these injunctions relate to the teaching process.

2) The facilitator then distributes green and pink index cards to each group member. He/She then requests group members to write anonymously on the cards the answer to the following question:

"What ideas about classroom management do you remember from your experiences as a student in elementary and secondary schools? Include what you consider positive and desirable on the green side, and that which you consider negative and undesirable on the pink side of the card."

3) The facilitator places the cards in the injunction box and proceeds to read them aloud one by one having the group members guess the author. If members make a guess they are asked to discuss their perceptions of the educator in that role and what clues led him to perceive the identity of the author.

4) After all the cards have been read and the author is identified for all, an open discussion is held. Listed below are possible follow up stimulators for the facilitator to use.

STIMULATORS:
- How does a teacher's philosophy of education affect the concept of classroom management?
- What classroom management ideas have you retained from your experience as a pupil?
- List some current conditions in Westlake with which you are acquainted that add to the increasing difficulty of management problems of teachers.

STIMULATORS:

- Plan some remarks that you would make to your class on the first day of school in order to facilitate unity and cooperation.
- What are the ways a teacher uses to control a class? Why are these necessary?
- Ask the teachers what aspects of their school's organization causes them most difficulty in conducting a classroom? Curriculum, group, building, rules, values.
- Poor teacher-student relations, lack of unity, and unwillingness to cooperate are behavior characteristics of this class. Where can a teacher start to build unity?
- When requests are ignored, how can teachers insist on adherence to rules, standards, or requirements without lowering a child's concept of self and feelings of self-worth.